

# CURRENT HISTORY



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# CURRENT HISTORY

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# JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE-CALIFORNIA PROBLEM

By DR. TOYOKICHI IYENAGA

[MEMBER OF THE FACULTY OF CHICAGO UNIVERSITY; DIRECTOR, EAST AND WEST NEWS BUREAU, NEW YORK]

THE Japanese problem in California, which has remained in abeyance since 1913, has again become a live issue by a proposal to enact a drastic anti-alien land bill by a referendum vote at the November election. The proposition is strongly backed by Governor Stephens, who addressed a forceful letter to Secretary Colby prefacing the data on the subject collected by the State Board of Control. Despite its stringency, however, the Governor of California still casts a doubt as to its efficacy, and confesses that "the bill does not, and will not, because the State legally cannot, prevent Japanese control of our soil, nor can it stop further immigration." He, therefore, appeals to the Washington Government to take the necessary action to solve the grave problem, for it "could not be effectually dealt with except through the medium of the Federal Government." All well-wishers for the good of America and Japan should heartily welcome this move of Governor Stephens, for in this way the delicate problem has at last come, as it should, into the hands of the proper authorities who are empowered to negotiate with foreign powers.

The essentials of Governor Stephens's proposition are to preserve California for the Californians, to destroy at one stroke the Japanese holdings of farm interests, for they constitute a menace to the State, and to exclude completely and effectually Japanese immigrants on the ground that it is impossible to assimilate and amalgamate them with the American people.

No sane person would ever think of disputing the first point. It is certain that the Japanese residents of California do not dream of stealing the Golden State. Whether the pending legislation does not violate the American Constitution or infringe upon the treaty which

America has made with Japan, or whether it is wise for Californians to resort to such repressive measures, is, however, open to grave doubt. Whether the Japanese are impossible to assimilate and amalgamate with the American race, as is so dogmatically asserted, is also within the debatable realm of biology, for it has not had a fair trial. However, to dispute the feasibility of such a scientific proposition, or to aggravate the race problem, which is already complicated in America for many reasons, is, I am confident, not the purpose of Japan. Her fundamental policy is to maintain and further promote the vital interests involved in the friendship and good-will of America and strictly to avoid whatever would go to jeopardize those interests. Herein is the real meaning of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" and other understandings entered into with America.

## HISTORY OF THE SITUATION

Attracted by stories of the great prosperity and unique opportunities afforded in America, the Japanese, soon after the opening of their country, began to cast longing glances at the opposite shore of the Pacific. The number of Japanese immigrants into this country was, however, insignificant up to the eighties of the last century. In 1882 the United States enacted the Chinese Exclusion law. The large landowners of California, having been thus deprived of Chinese farm hands, found in the Japanese excellent laborers on their farms and orchards, and they tried to encourage Japanese immigration by offering alluring terms to them. About the same time Western railroad companies, then busily engaged in the construction of transcontinental systems, also discovered that the Japanese made excellent section hands, and consequently tried every

means to obtain as many Japanese as possible.

It is, then, well to remember that at the inception of Japanese immigration to the Pacific Coast the great majority of immigrants came as laborers and at the invitation of California's landowners and capitalists. It would be safe to say that, had the Japanese Government foreseen the trouble in store for it on this account, it would never have permitted the coming of laborers in large numbers. The Japanese immigration, encouraged in the way stated, coupled with the result of annexation of Hawaii by the United States, began to swell until it reached the high water mark in 1907, when it numbered no less than 30,000.

#### THE "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT"

The incoming of a different race in such large numbers, and their concentration within a single State and within certain particular districts of that State, could not fail to arouse strong opposition against them. The story of the agitation against the Chinese repeated itself. The symptom had manifested itself as early as 1900, but it reached a crisis in 1907, when San Francisco attempted to segregate the Japanese children in the schools attended by the white children and clamored for the total exclusion of the Japanese. The wise statesmanship of President Roosevelt and Emperor Mutsuhito saved the situation by concluding what is called the "Gentlemen's Agreement," whereby Japan voluntarily promised to prohibit the emigration of laborers to the United States and America agreed to desist from enacting an exclusion law similar to that which barred the Chinese.

The conclusion of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," however, failed to put a stop to the anti-Japanese agitation in California. The clamor that the Japanese were buying the best lands of California and gaining control of its agricultural products became louder every year, until it culminated in the enactment, against the protest of the Federal Government, of the Anti-Alien Land law of 1913. This law forbade the owning of agricultural lands by the Japanese

and limited their tenure to three-year leaseholds. The great war, wherein Japan fought shoulder to shoulder with America, put a quietus on the agitation for a short time. No sooner, however, was the war concluded than we witnessed the recrudescence of the anti-Japanese agitation in California, and a bill far more drastic than the law enacted in 1913 is now laid before its electorate for decision in November.

#### IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

It is but fair to say that California is not alone in its opposition to Oriental immigration.

Australia is the most rigorous exclusionist of Asiatic immigrants. The Immigration act, first passed in 1900 and subsequently revised and enlarged by the acts of 1905, 1908, 1910 and 1912, as it stands today, makes the entrance of Asiatic laborers practically impossible. Among its provisions there is the dictation test, requiring immigrants to write not less than fifty words of some European language. That this law is aimed at a systematic exclusion of Asiatic laborers may be gauged from the fact that this test is required only of Orientals, while the Europeans are exempted from it. Evidently no cooly, Chinese or Japanese, can pass the examination in a European language.

Canada shows a marked leniency in her treatment of Asiatics legally admitted, although she hardly falls behind the United States in the rigor of her restrictions of Oriental immigrants. Since 1901 a head tax of \$100 has been imposed on every Chinese admitted, and the amount has been increased to \$500 since 1904. No such tax was ever levied on Japanese immigrants; but in 1908 Japan and Canada entered into an agreement similar to the "Gentlemen's Agreement" by which the Japanese Government promised to limit the number of immigrants entering Canada to 400 every year. Last year Canada adopted the literacy test, requiring every immigrant to be able to read simple sentences in any language he chose.

Canada, unlike the United States, has, however, extended to the Orientals the





JAPANESE "PICTURE BRIDES" INTERROGATED BY MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE JAPANESE SITUATION IN CALIFORNIA. THAT STATE CHALLENGES THESE WOMEN'S ADMITTANCE

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privilege of naturalization, and even of securing homesteads. Even in British Columbia, the stronghold of anti-Oriental agitation, no such discriminatory laws as those enacted or proposed in California have been introduced in its Legislature. The Japanese in Canada are allowed to purchase land, both urban and rural, and in provinces other than British Columbia they enjoy the voting privilege. Only in the last-named province they are not allowed to cast the ballot, although free to become citizens.

#### CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

*The Japanese-California problem is not the immigration question, but the question of treatment of the Japanese already admitted.*

The restrictive immigration measures adopted by the British colonies and by the United States, regrettable as they are, have been acquiesced in by Japan without much ado from the higher con-

siderations of her national well-being. She saw that at the bottom of those measures there is the delicate and difficult question of race difference, which requires a long period for a satisfactory adjustment. To ignore this fact and force the race issue, however just in principle, would be to court disaster. It might result in the loss of the friendship of her best associates in international affairs and of the great interests involved in that friendship.

Take America, for instance. She is Japan's best customer, buying annually half a billion dollars' worth of Japanese goods. Far more important than this commercial transaction is the cultural relationship existing between the two countries. Although Japan's Constitution, military system and bureaucratic Government have been largely modeled upon those of Germany, the true aspirations and ideals of her people have been mainly derived from Anglo-American



sources. They have imbibed the spirit of democracy, growing more powerful every year, from their neighbor across the Pacific. Japan prides herself on being a "broker" between the East and the West, and in her fulfillment of this mission and the unfolding of Asia's resources America's co-operation is indispensable.

Japan, has, therefore, shown throughout her modern career the strongest disposition to meet the wishes of the American people. In this disposition we find the spring of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," by which, respecting America's wishes, she pledged the restriction of Japanese immigration into this country. The Japanese immigration question, therefore, no longer remains an issue. It was settled by that agreement, and if any further readjustment is needed it can be accomplished upon that basis. Such an instance is afforded by Japan's recent voluntary prohibition, in deference to California's adverse sentiment, of the coming over of the so-called "picture brides."

#### FULFILLING THE AGREEMENT

Grave charges, however, have been made that Japan is violating the "Gentlemen's Agreement." As an evidence, the increase of Japanese population in California is cited; it has more than doubled within a decade; that is to say, from 41,356 in 1910 it has increased to 87,279 today.

There are other causes sufficient to account for this increase without imputing it to the violation of the agreement. The agreement does not, in the first place, forbid the entrance of (1) "former residents"; (2) "parents, wives or children of residents"; (3) "settled agriculturists," and (4) transient visitors who are "non-laborers." Again, during the war the American-Japanese trade grew at a tremendous pace—to four times what it was before. As a consequence, many business firms of Japan have established branches in the leading cities of America and sent their agents. In New York alone over sixty new agencies of some of the strongest business houses of Japan have opened

their offices and employ hundreds of Japanese clerks. The cities of California must have had their quota of increase in the number of Japanese business men. Add to this 29,188 Japanese children born in California during 1909-1919, and about 10,000 wives who have joined their husbands, and there will be no cause for surprise at the increase in the Japanese population of California already referred to.

As for the story that thousands of immigrants are smuggled across the Mexican border through the connivance of some Japanese officials, this is a mere invention. It has been categorically denied by the Japanese Government. There may have been not a few cases of those who, evading the American patrols, smuggled their way from Mexico, but the Tokio authorities cannot be held responsible for these illicit entrance. They have in fact expressed a sincere desire to co-operate with the American authorities to check this illegal practice.

#### EFFECTS OF RESTRICTIVE MEASURES

To appreciate fully the significance of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," let us consider for a moment Japan's population, natural resources and conditions of living.

Japan's population remained in a static condition during the feudal days, ranging, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the first half of the nineteenth, from about 25,000,000 to 27,000,000. No sooner, however, had Japan opened her doors to the external world and launched a career of progress and enlightenment than her population began to assume a dynamic character. In 1870, two years after the installation of the Meiji Government in place of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan counted for its inhabitants 33,000,000 souls; in 1890, when the representative system of government was inaugurated and the Diet opened for the first time, the stump orators in the election campaign were wont to make patriotic appeals to "forty million of our fellow countrymen." In 1918, when Japan, after a hard and persevering struggle of two decades, estab-

lished her standing in the family of nations, the population had swollen to 57,000,000 in Japan proper alone. This, together with 21,000,000 in Korea, Formosa and Southern Saghalin, brought the number of the Mikado's subjects close to 80,000,000—to be exact, 78,261,856—souls. Japan's population (excluding that of her territories) has thus doubled within half a century, and is increasing annually at the rate of 700,000.

While the population of Japan has been increasing at this phenomenal rate, her resources to supply food and other necessities for the people are not only extremely limited but have neither expanded nor developed at a corresponding pace. Japan has a land area of 147,655 square miles, which is 8,335 square miles less than that of California. Her population per square mile is, therefore, 376, which is in density second only to that of Belgium and Holland. Far more significant than this density of population is the fact that of the entire land area of Japan only 30 per cent. is arable, while about 65 per cent. is mountainous or swampy. It follows, therefore, that 60,000,000 Japanese would have to sustain existence on the products of 44,000 square miles, or one-quarter of an acre per capita, if they had to depend upon home products alone. No wonder that foreign travelers in Japan are struck with the very intensive nature of the farming there and the utilization of every spot of arable land for agricultural purposes.

The scarcity of other natural resources is no less striking than this shortage of arable land. With no cotton, no wool, only a limited supply of iron and raw materials for chemical products, and no large stores of coal, the prospect of Japan's industrial development is not large. True, the World War gave a unique opportunity for a remarkable expansion of her commerce and industry, but it was such an opportunity as comes only once in a thousand years. In fact, circumscribed within a narrowly limited area, with scanty resources, and crowded with two-thirds as many as the entire population of America, Japan's problem

of existence is not an easy one. As a consequence, we find the struggle for existence in Nippon of the keenest, society fettered by innumerable chains, and men cramped in thoughts and visions. Government officials in important posts, venerable Judges, learned university professors, receive salaries which efficient American bank clerks would spurn with contempt as too low for their labors. It is then not at all surprising that the number of aspiring youths who long for the invigorating air, the wide elbow room and the big opening found in the "land of opportunities" is legion. These pressures have, however, not swerved the Japanese Government for a moment from pursuing its settled policy respecting emigration to America.

#### THE PENDING LEGISLATION IN CALIFORNIA

The Japanese immigration question is, then, not the question at issue. The treatment of the Japanese in California is the core of the problem. Fairness demands a recognition of the fact that of all the States of the Union California has been the one which, through natural circumstances, has been forced to confront the peculiar problem of keeping vigilance against the oncoming waves of the Asiatic inundation, and to assume the burden of adjusting the numerous problems arising from the existence within its borders of a comparatively large number of Asiatics. It is in California that 70 per cent. of the total Japanese population in Continental United States resides; it is in that State that the Japanese manifest a marked tendency to grow in numbers and in economic influence.

To be sure, only 70,000 Japanese would not have aroused the clamor of the people had they been scattered in a wider area or placed in a large cosmopolitan city like New York. But their settlement in large numbers among the thinly peopled regions of California tends not only to germinate unnecessary racial and economic conflict, but to magnify the nature of the problem in the eyes of the native population. The Japanese colonies, moreover, are not in general of a

very high cultural attainment, although they are not behind the European immigrants in this respect. Moreover, they are prone to retain their native customs or language, which, combined with their habit of grouping together, results in the appearance of small Japanese towns and communities. These facts suggest that immediate relief of California's tension may be effected by scattering her Japanese population in other States.

#### NO JAPANESE DOMINATION

Aside from this, there are many psychological elements at the bottom of California's excitement. An examination unveils the fact that the fear of Japanese domination of California's agriculture, which is the cause of the pending land bill, is really not well founded. A few figures will prove this point clearly.

Governor Stephens reports that California has 27,931,444 acres of farm land, of which the Japanese own 74,769 acres and lease 383,287 acres. This is saying that the Japanese own one acre of land to every 373 acres and lease one acre to every seventy-two acres of California's farm lands, estimating upon the basis of arable land. There is, however, a great significance in the fact that out of 28,000,000 acres of farm land over 16,000,000 acres remain uncultivated, and a vast acreage of land can further be converted for cultivation out of 99,619,000 acres of California's land area.

The Governor's report further states that the total value of farm products of California was \$507,811,881. The Japanese contributed to this the sum of \$67,145,730, or 13 per cent. One point to be noted is that while large farms still predominate in California, those held by the Japanese are small. The average farm of California is approximately 320 acres, that of the Japanese fifty-six acres. This means that there is a pretty clear line of demarkation in the farming of the Japanese and the whites. While the Japanese produce from 80 per cent. to 92 per cent. of the total State production of berries, celery, asparagus and seeds, the American farmers monopolize the total of hay and grain and 80 per

cent. to 95 per cent. of potatoes, grapes, beans, rice, cotton, corn, fruits and nuts.

Now the products in which the Japanese are strong do not belong to the principal productions of California, only 5,000 to 20,000 acres being devoted to each of them; but the products which the American farmers control are all important products of California, their acreage of cultivation ranging from 100,000 to 2,500,000 acres each. Thus the division of labor is pretty well established.

Anti-Japanese agitators consider it indispensable to wring out from the hands of Japanese the hard-won trophy of agricultural achievement. The impending Initiative bill provides in substance for (1) the absolute prohibition of land ownership by the Japanese; (2) the denial of the right of Japanese to lease agricultural land; (3) the deprivation of American-born Japanese minors of the right to acquire real estate under the guardianship of their parents; (4) denial to the Japanese parents of their natural right to oversee their children in respect to owning real property; (5) prohibition of the Japanese from taking part in any company or corporation owning real property. And it further provides that on a violation of the law the real property so acquired will escheat to the State upon certain *prima facie* presumption. It is certain that the passing of a bill like this will almost completely annul all past efforts of the Japanese farmers in California, unless the law is evaded by legal subterfuge, which, Governor Stephens himself points out, is not possible for the State to counteract. To place the Japanese farmers in such a dilemma is tantamount to tempting them to become a race of hypocrites.

It is not within the province of a foreigner to say what legislation is good or bad for Californians. If the pending legislation is deemed, after careful examination, to infringe upon the Japanese-American Treaty of 1911, it is the duty of the Tokio Government to make a protest to the Washington Government. I feel confident, however, that America will not adopt such a suicidal policy as that of disowning her own sons and

daughters of Japanese descent by depriving them of their right of citizenship granted by the Constitution. Most of these citizens will remain in the land of their birth and constitute a loyal element of American communities. Would it,

then, be a wise policy to embitter them or their parents by a record of repression and persecution? Would not a more tolerant and liberal policy prove in the long run a far more wise and sure way of solving the vexing problem?

## The Japanese Problem in California

### Past and Present Phases of a Situation That Threatens International Complications

By CLARENCE A. LOCAN

[SUNDAY EDITOR OF THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE]

**A**NTI-JAPANESE agitation on the Pacific Coast, and particularly in California, after having threatened international complications more than once in the last twenty years, is once more a Governmental worry. A campaign is under way in California for State laws to forbid ownership of any land, agricultural or other, by Japanese, whether native born or not, or ownership of stock in any corporation owning land; in the meantime, Congress is awaiting a report from the House Immigration Committee, on the strength of which Californians will demand a rigid Japanese exclusion law.

California anti-Japanese factions have three objectives in their present drive against the Japanese:

1. By initiative law they hope to pass a State statute that will bar Japanese from ownership of any land in California, in any form of holding. This is designed to prevent further colonization of farm areas by Japanese farmers, who now control vast acreages.

2. Under the leadership of Senator James Phelan, the anti-Japanese factions are seeking a Federal exclusion law to replace the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between Japan and the United States, under which, since 1907, Japan has undertaken to restrict departure of her own subjects for America or Hawaii.

3. State legislators are again urging a law to segregate Japanese and whites in the schools.

Governmental protests from Japan,

which went so far as to voice an appeal for "race equality" at the Paris Peace Conference (a plea that was "side-tracked"), have more recently been renewed in regard to the latest moves in California against the Japanese. According to statements made in the recent Congressional investigation of Japanese immigration, the Japanese have adopted modern methods of propaganda, a vast sum having been raised by California Japanese for publicity work to combat the agitation against them. Administration heads in Washington are said to be watching sharply for international complications through the situation.

Twice—once in 1907, under Roosevelt, and, again, in 1913, when President Wilson sent Secretary of State Bryan to the Coast—the Federal Administration has interfered, and by "moral suasion" headed off laws of the same nature as are now proposed, on the ground of "international relations."

#### PROBLEM OF LONG STANDING

The anti-Japanese agitation has been almost unceasing in California, except in the war period; but the time when it always burns most intensely is just prior to an election, when politicians seize on its "talking points." The agitation is conducted largely by union labor, which holds that Japanese "cheap labor" menaces it, and by farming communities where Japanese settle in large number.

This movement has been of long dura-



tion. It grew out of the old anti-Chinese agitation of the early 70's, when Denis Kearney of San Francisco led the fight on Chinese labor. It waxed hot when the Japanese immigrants began to take the place of the Chinese, barred under an exclusion law. Immigration from Japan soon began to surpass that from China, which has gradually disappeared in the last twenty years. Labor bodies, farming organizations and various other societies in the State have carried on the fight. Twice vigorous anti-Japanese measures in the Legislature were crushed under pressure from Washington to avoid international ruptures; each time the anti-Japanese element returned to the attack with redoubled intensity.

Immigration from Japan began in 1866, when seven Japanese first entered America. Until 1885 there was practically no immigration from that country, but a demand was created when, in 1884, influenced by labor agitation, Congress passed the Chinese exclusion law, barring coolies from entrance to this country. These coolies had formed the target for the Kearney agitation, in which it was declared that cheap Chinese labor had robbed the white man of employment in the West. Deprived of Chinese farmhands, California landowners began to employ Japanese, thus creating a desire on the part of Japanese laborers to come to America.

By 1891 Japanese arrivals had reached a total of 1,136. At the same time a new factor was introduced. Western railroads discovered that the Japanese made excellent section hands. In 1899 Japanese arrivals had increased to 2,844. At this time immigration of Japanese to Hawaii (annexed to the United States in 1900), had exceeded 20,000.

#### INCREASE OF HOSTILITY

Farm labor, in the interior, had by this time become largely Japanese. Able to work in the broiling sun in such regions as the Fresno raisin lands, where white men could not work, the Japanese became a necessity, according to many farmers. White labor charged that the Japanese were "taking the bread from

the American." Farmers replied that "white men won't work in the sun," and cited practical instances, but the agitation grew apace. Politicians, of course, were quick to observe its "talking points" and make the most of them.

#### THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

In 1907, under pressure from all parts of the State, the California Legislature prepared to enact laws barring Japanese immigration as such. Japanese diplomats in Washington pointed out to the Administration that such legislation would be in effect a proclamation to the world that the Japanese settler was undesirable—a blow at the dignity of the entire Japanese nation. Under pressure from President Roosevelt, who sent his Secretary of the Interior, Victor Metcalf (himself a Californian), to California to investigate and remonstrate, the legislation was laid over; the Administration arranging the "gentlemen's agreement," which thereafter ruled Japanese immigration.

This provided that Japan would refuse passports to Japanese laborers who tried to emigrate, not only to the United States, but also to Canada or Mexico, whence they might be smuggled into this country. Passports to laborers bound for America were to be issued only in cases where the laborers had acquired interests in America and were returning here from visits to Japan, or where they had relatives established in America, or were the parents of Japanese domiciled in this country.

Under this agreement Japanese immigration, however, continued to grow, and led to the A. M. Drew Anti-Japanese Immigration bill and the Grove L. Johnson bill, which aimed to segregate the Japanese in the schools, a movement started through attempts of the San Francisco schools to accomplish this result.

Immigration of Japanese continued to grow steadily, many laborers arriving as "students"—non-laborers under the "gentlemen's agreement." By 1913 this immigration approximated 6,000 yearly, and the agitation began to be heard again. Many Japanese farm laborers had by this time acquired land. The



California Japanese birth rate was soaring.

Essentially a pioneer, the Japanese farmer took land that had been regarded as useless, and by thrift and patience made of it rich producing land. White



JAMES D. PHELAN  
*Senior United States Senator from  
California*

farmers declared competition impossible. In various sections of the Sacramento Valley Japanese commenced to acquire large holdings—notable among these being George Shima, "Potato King," who had reared what was practically a monopoly in Sacramento River potatoes.

#### ANTI-JAPANESE LAND LAW

In 1913, under renewed agitation, the Japanese alien land law was enacted by the State Legislature. This forbade the purchase and ownership of land by an alien "ineligible to citizenship"—for, under the citizenship laws of the United States,

white men and "Africans" are eligible to citizenship, but "Mongolians" are not mentioned. The courts in 1907 had decided that Mongolians were not eligible to become citizens, although native-born children of Japanese or Chinese parents were. At this time State statistics showed that Japanese owned 331 farms in California, a total of 12,726 acres, and held 282 more farms, a total of 17,598 acres, under lease. Following the alien land law—which was passed over the most vigorous protest of Japanese interests in the State, and in spite of the Tokio Government's protests to Washington—Japanese landholders began to acquire their new lands by lease, or by purchase in the name of native-born children. Organization of strong "Japanese associations" also commenced, these maintaining publicity agents and watching over Japanese-American relations on the coast.

In 1916, under lease and trust holdings of land deeded to Japanese children, the acreage held by Japanese in California had grown to a large extent, whole districts being populated by Japanese farmers, particularly in the Sacramento River region. The Japanese controlled the berry-producing industry, with a large part of the potato industry, and shared the new rice-growing industry with Hindu farmers in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys.

In 1914 Congressman John E. Raker, spurred by California agitation, presented to Congress the Raker bill, providing for abrogation of the "gentlemen's agreement" and Japanese exclusion. William Jennings Bryan, the Secretary of State, opposed it on the ground that it might mean disturbance of relations with Japan; in the meantime the California Legislature again had before it a bill for segregation of Japanese school children, based on San Francisco agitation, and on a report of the growth of Japanese school enrollment from various parts of the State. This law planned the establishment of Japanese schools for Japanese.

The Tokio Government's protest over this plan called Bryan to the Coast to protest to the Legislature and to the State Administration, headed by Gov-

ernor Hiram Johnson (son of Grove Johnson, who offered the earlier anti-Japanese bill). The Raker bill was killed by Congress; the California Legislature finally laid over the proposal before it, and during 1915 Japanese agitation lapsed, California being engrossed in the affairs of the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

#### SENATOR PHELAN'S CRUSADE

The war followed, and anti-Japanese agitation was quelled on the ground that Japan was an ally of the United States; but with the dawn of 1919 it revived. Senator James Phelan of California launched a bombshell with the declaration that the "gentlemen's agreement" was not being lived up to, and, backed by the California Oriental Exclusion League, proposed a bill to exclude "non-assimilable races." At the same time the league laid plans for a State-initiated law to forbid the holding of land by any Japanese, the holding of land in the name of a Japanese minor, or the ownership by a Japanese of stock in any corporation controlling land.

The storm of protest from the Japanese interests that followed was taken up by the Government of Japan. In the meantime, with Phelan backing the movement, various organizations ranked themselves behind the move, to be launched at a monster meeting in San Francisco on Sept. 2 of this year; among them were the Native Sons (a California fraternal order), labor unions, the American Legion and others.

Phelan, in the meantime, had laid his objections to further Japanese immigration before the Congressional Immigration Committee, of which Representative Albert Johnson of Washington is Chairman. In June of this year a trip to California by the committee to investigate at first hand was arranged; on July 8 the hearings commenced at Sacramento.

Hearings were later held in San Francisco, Fresno, Turlock and other parts of California. The committee divided itself into sub-committees, inspected Japanese settlements, such as Florin, in the Sacramento Valley, where the entire town is practically Japanese; pro-

ceeded to Seattle to investigate there, and a report will be forthcoming at the next session of Congress. At the same time California lawmakers will demand a Federal immigration law to curb Japanese arrivals. The hearings covered in detail the settlement of farming lands, and Japanese landholders put in a vigorous defense; Colonel John P. Irish, a prominent farmer, defended the Japanese and their labor; V. S. McClatchy, a Sacramento editor, attacked the Japanese as a menace to the State, and charges flew thick and fast. K. K. Kawakami, a Japanese publicity agent, was accused of obtaining information from Japanese censors employed during the war; and Senator Phelan occupied a prominent part in the heated personal controversy. At the same time white melon pickers in Turlock, in the San Joaquin Valley, launched a strike, alleging that the Japanese laborers were working for a lower wage than an American could live on. The committee left California on July 24. In the meantime, Senator Phelan called the meeting of labor delegates, anti-Japanese bodies and other organizations to assemble on Sept. 2 and launch a unified anti-Japanese immigration move, and to initiate the proposed new State land law.

#### ATTITUDE OF COURTS

In the matter of Japanese immigration the Federal Administration has thus far held itself helpless to curb the State's actions, and has resorted to "moral suasion." What will occur in the coming year is a matter for speculation—and possibly the Supreme Court.

Following the war several Japanese who had served in the United States Army attempted to gain citizenship under the statute providing that aliens serving in the army might become citizens. Courts in Hawaii, where the Japanese population is far greater than in California, admitted such applicants; in California these applications were denied. Federal courts have differed; these cases have not yet reached the highest tribunal.

The Japanese say that they are willing and ready to be loyal to the United

States; that they have improved lands the white settler could not; that their rights should be the same as those of any other alien, and the Japanese Government holds that any other treatment is a direct blow at Japan's national honor. The anti-Japanese agitators hold that the Japanese would not become true citizens; that they would not be loyal; that they remain under call for Japanese military duty while in this country; that they cannot be competed with by white

labor, and that their growing power is an economic menace that threatens to "Japanize" California.

Out of the maze of charges and counter charges, political and other agitation, two factions have risen in the State with the anti-Japanese faction largely in the lead. Newspapers, according to policy, harp on "the yellow menace" or urge conservatism, and in the meantime California is awaiting with interest the next move—locally and in Congress.

## Attitude of the Japanese Government

### How It Regards the Many-Sided Question of Emigration to Other Countries

By A. MORGAN YOUNG

MANAGING EDITOR OF THE JAPAN CHRONICLE.

WHILE a great deal is said regarding the Japanese immigration problem, one of the parties most concerned—the Japanese Government—says very little, and its attitude toward the question has to be drawn from inference. That there should be racial discrimination is very exacerbating to a pride of which the nation is morbidly solicitous, but very few frontal attacks have been made on the exclusionists, negotiations as a rule being on the most suave and conceding lines.

One memorable instance of these rare attacks was when the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, the day after America broke off relations with Germany, informed the Secretary of State of the uncontrollable state of public feeling brought about in Tokio by the pending legislation in the Pacific Coast States—when, as a matter of fact, very little was being said on the subject at all. Another instance of an attempt to overcome discrimination was when the Japanese delegation introduced the "racial equality" resolution at the Paris Peace Conference. In the endeavor to have this passed it was even stated that it had nothing to do with the immigration question, which the Japanese Government recognized was economic rather

than racial, but the Japanese Foreign Minister at the time frankly and publicly said that its object—or one of its objects—had been to remove the bar to Japanese immigration in those countries which now prevent it.

Such incidents as these give the impression that Japan desires her children to enjoy free entry everywhere. So, as a matter of fact, she does, but it is very doubtful whether she desires to see her emigrants denationalized. The Japanese Government itself takes no part in the agitations regarding the right of naturalization, even while it resents as keenly as any popular party a discrimination which implies inferiority. The care with which Japanese Consuls abroad see that the children of Japanese parents are not lost to the empire cannot always be very agreeable to the Japanese parents, and would not fail to arouse resentment and rebellion if equal care were not taken to see that the children enjoy the full benefits of their American birth, especially in such matters as land-holding rights. They are willing to "have it both ways," but regard with displeasure the prospect of emigrants' children being more loyal to the land of their birth than to Japan. Yet they know that it must be so.

The same considerations in a less in-

tense form used to trouble the German Government with regard to German emigrants. There was the same attempted remedy—the acquisition of colonies that proved unattractive—and there was the same practical remedy—the development of an industrial system which concentrated the national power and deferred the day of a hunger migration.

The whole of the Japanese problem lies in California. The economic and climatic conditions of British Columbia and of Australia are far less attractive, and the interests already acquired are insignificant by comparison.

Physically, linguistically and socially the Japanese in America are set apart much more than the Germans were, and in the event of war between America and Japan the immediate blow to the Japanese interests would be so dramatic that no dreamt-of gain could compensate. Nevertheless, the press in Japan is industriously getting the public in the habit of contemplating a war with America as a possibility. Especially free is it with accusations against Americans in Eastern Asia, and the Government has lately requested foreign newspapers in Japan not to translate anti-American articles!

But the German-American having proved no asset at all to the Fatherland in war, the Japanese authorities have as little faith in the Japanese-American. The Military Party, which still runs the Government, probably desires war less than anybody, but it believes in the rattling of the sabre, and will rattle it as readily on a point of national dignity as on any other.

But while the talk of war with America is fed by the California debate, its object is rather to get enormous defense estimates passed and to convince America that Japan's "special position" in Eastern Asia is too thorny for serious dispute. American capital is welcome in Eastern Asia, but it must be under the aegis of Japanese militarism.

This brings us to Eastern Asia as a field for Japanese emigration. Japanese themselves prefer South America, but the Government does very little to encourage what only means a loss of sub-

jects, and the Japanese so unfailingly become disliked where they go in large numbers that such colonies are only a vexation. In Korea and South Manchuria, as well as in Eastern Siberia, there is still virgin soil of the best quality. It is attractive enough for Japanese settlers (though its climatic rigors are far less agreeable than the softness of California), but the trouble begins when it comes to marketing the produce, for though the land is far from full the native cultivator is an invincible competitor. The Japanese feels no more gratitude to the native competitor for his industry than the Californian does to the Japanese, but he cannot turn him out, and consequently Japanese immigration is but slow. Whether it will be any faster in the newly opened regions of Siberia remains to be seen. However, though in ten years no more people have gone to Korea than can be replaced by natural increase in one year in Japan, the Japanese population on the mainland increases, and remains intensely Japanese. It is the militarist ideal, and even a cultural ideal, to have a great Japanese Empire in Eastern Asia, of which the islands constituting Japan proper shall be only an outpost.

Popular education among such a biddable people as the Japanese has been able to make a religion of loyalty, but it cannot make people emigrate to places that they do not like, even for the sake of empire. The Japanese showed perfect willingness to die in Manchuria. They have yet to show a willingness to live there. But with the strategic and economic control of all Eastern Asia in her hands, and the direction of the spare American capital ready for investment in Asia, the Japanese Government may be able to make Manchuria, Eastern Mongolia, Eastern Siberia and Korea sufficiently attractive to absorb the whole natural overflow of Japan.

In the meantime the Japanese Government is pulled many ways, to its own great embarrassment. The Japanese can never be really happy in California, because they cannot have police boxes there. If they are happy without them they cease to be Japanese.

Kobe, Japan, Aug. 22, 1920.

X



# The Labor Situation in Italy

## Momentous Struggle Between the Metal Workers and the Iron Masters

By DR. FERDINAND MARCUCCI

[STAFF EDITOR OF IL PROGRESSO ITALO-AMERICANO, NEW YORK]

THE present struggle between the metal workers and the employers of Italy may serve as the thermometer of the general labor situation of that country. It is a known fact that the metal employes exceed by far those of any other industry except farming. The distribution of the metal and mechanical workers throughout the kingdom makes it difficult to present exact statistical figures, but it is conservatively estimated that there are between 400,000 and 500,000.

This huge mass of workers is divided into four syndicalistic organizations, which, however, have nothing of syndicalism but the name. In fact, their activities are inspired by political aims; their attitude is political, and the results of their struggles depend on politics. These four organizations are the following: Federazione Italiana Operai Metallurgici, or Federation of Italian Metal Workers, with headquarters in Turin. Its membership comprises between 200,000 and 300,000 organized workers from all the provinces of Italy. This is the largest of the four organizations, but it is the least imbued with political spirit. It has, however, a spirit of reform, and is the most compliant with the General Confederation of Labor. The Secretary is Bruno Buozzi, a Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Close to the F. I. O. M. is the U. S. I. (Unione Sindacale Italiana, or Italian Syndical Union), whose membership is between 70,000 and 80,000 workers. This organization is mainly centred in Sestri Ponente, Piombino and Portoferraio, and the anarchist, Armando Borghi, is the exponent of its tendencies. Then comes the Unione Italiana del Lavoro, or Italian Union of Labor, which has about 80,000 members,

most of whom work in the Milan factories. Among the exponents of this union there are many noninterventionists. Mr. Bachi is the Secretary. Fourth and last is the Sindacato Nazionale Operai Metallurgici (National Syndicate of Metal Workers), or Sindacato Bianco (White Syndicate), whose membership is about 25,000 workers, all affiliated with the Popular or Catholic Party.

These four organizations, although antagonistic in politics, are more or less in agreement among themselves as to their economic aims. A proof of this agreement was given by them last June, when they sent a memorandum to their employers demanding higher wages. To be exact, three memoranda were sent: one from the F. I. O. M. and the Unione Italiana del Lavoro, the second from the Unione Sindacale, the third from the Sindacato Nazionale Operai Metallurgici. These memoranda showed no material difference on economic points. The only difference was on the "regulamentar" question, or question of control, this being the crucial problem of the labor situation. The demand of the Unione Sindacale on this point was that all rules and regulations be abolished—a step equivalent to the abolition of the controlling power of the employers. The Sindacato Bianco, furthermore, proclaimed the right of the workers to share the profits with the employers.

### THE BREAKING POINT

The Federazione Sindacale Nazionale Industrie Meccaniche e Metallurgiche, or National Syndical Federation of Mechanical and Metallurgical Industries, whose President is Commissioner Jarach, acknowledged the receipt of these three memoranda, and appointed a commission to study their contents.



The result of this study was an interchange of views between the employers, through their representative, Mr. Rotigliano, counselor at law, and the F. I. O. M., through its representative, Mr. Buoizzi, but they failed to reach an agreement. The employers made it clear at once that the industrial situation was such that acceptance of the claims embodied in the memoranda of the unions was absolutely out of the question. The F. I. O. M., on its part, insisted on supporting the right of the metal workers to a wage not lower than the average wage of all the other labor corporations, both private and State. Thereupon the employers made public an order of the day flatly refusing any compliance with the claims of the workers and setting forth five fundamental reasons for their refusal. They explained the special gravity of the metal and mechanical situation as compared with the situation of the other industries. The workers, including those associated with the Catholic Party, contested, one by one, all the contentions of the employers.

#### WORKS RUN ON SMALL PROFIT

To make clear the conditions of many metal and mechanical industries in Italy the following data are given from the budgets published in the bulletins of the Prefectures of Turin, Milan and Genoa, and covering the first semester of 1920:

Piedmont—Fourteen firms, with a capital of 286,000,000 lire, carried, in the year 1919, a profit of 9.53 per cent.; 6 firms, with a capital of 18,000,000, closed their balances with a loss of 9.63 per cent.

Lombardy—Thirty-five firms, with a capital of 286,000,000 lire, earned a profit of 6.57 per cent.; 26 firms, with a capital of 63,000,000 lire, closed their balances with an average loss of 23 per cent.

Liguria—Thirteen firms, with a capital of 66,000,000 lire, shared an average profit of 10.67 per cent., whereas 5 firms, with a capital of 12,000,000 lire, closed their balances with an average loss of 15.68 per cent.

From these data the average profits distributed during the year 1919 were as follows: Piedmont, 7.93 per cent.; Lombardy, 1.09 per cent.; Liguria, 6.52 per cent. Very meagre dividends, one should say, especially in view of the fact that the Consolidated Loan yields, without

any risk from the investor, about 7 per cent.

#### VOTE TO TAKE POSSESSION

Following the publication of the employers' refusal, an extraordinary meeting was held in Milan on Aug. 18 by the sectional delegates of the F. I. O. M., then assembled for a special congress. In this it was voted to take possession of all the metal and mechanical factories, beginning Aug. 20, "according to the ways and forms indicated by the Federal committee to the congress, which is sure that all the metal and mechanical workers will know how to defend in any way, by violence or otherwise, the right to work, also the right to enter and remain inside the iron works in the event of a hostile attitude on the part of the industrialists."

The same motion asserted that the congress, in adopting this system, was convinced that it was defending not only the interests of the workers but also those of the nation.

In view of the attitude of the metal workers toward the application of this measure of obstruction and threatened sequestration, the association of employers, known as the Associazione Meccanici, Metallurgici, Affini, sent to all the firms of the group a notice embodying instructions for dealing with the emergency. This notice pointed out the necessity of considering the situation calmly and fairly, and of refraining from any act that might embitter it.

By Aug. 20 the workers' policy of sequestration was in full swing, not only in Milan but also in the iron works and navy yards of Italy. In considering the social importance of their action, it is necessary to distinguish between the method chosen for the fight and the aims that the workers wished to attain. Their weapon differs from the strike only in its more subtle and dangerous character. It means that they not only declare war against their employers on the score of wages and labor conditions, but also practically say to the employers, "This factory is not yours any more. The tools are not yours. Every working section of the factory is ours, and you

are not entitled to put us out if we comply with the conditions previously established. We have the right to use your factory, raw materials, machinery and tools in order to compel you to modify the labor agreement in our favor."

As to the aim, the present situation speaks for itself. The controlling organization of the metal workers had in mind the occupation of the factories and the installation of the Consigli di Fabbrica (Factory Councils)—that is to say, the substitution of the workers for the employers in the administration and control of the factories.

The lockout declared by the employers precipitated the situation, giving the workers the opportunity they were looking for to realize the right proclaimed by the congress of the F. I. O. M. on Aug. 18 in regard to the occupation of factories. Was the lockout unavoidable? Here is a vital question, whose right answer is found not only in the attitude assumed by the employers against the workers' claims but also in the development of the spirit of destruction and vandalism among some of the workers, who believed that events had begun to go against them.

#### NO COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP

What is going to be the result of this struggle? In Italy there are two great organized political parties contending with each other for the control of the life of the nation: the Popular (or Catholic) Party and the Socialist. In regard to the situation between the metal workers and the employers, the Socialist Party and all workers associated with it aim at the Sovietization of industries, and, consequently, the destruction of capital. The Popular Party, on the contrary, aim at control of the production in the factories, at the right of workers to share the profits, at their participation in the administration. With the Socialists are associated all the elements of disorder; with the Popular Party are associated all the elements of order. The former are destructive; the latter co-operative in their aims. Which of these two parties will gain the approval of the people of Italy? Which doctrine will prevail?

The answer to the first question is given by Luciano Magrini, an editor connected with *Il Secolo* of Milan, who, during a recent trip to Russia to study the Soviet Government, had an interview with Angelica Balabanov, Secretary of the Third International. In the course of this the following conversation took place:

"What are you doing in Italy?" asked Mrs. Balabanov.

"Well," Mr. Magrini replied, "if by revolution you mean the progressive transformation of society by big reforms, the Italian revolution is on its way. If, on the contrary, you expect that an insurrection of the mob will repeat the experience of the communist dictatorship in Russia, then I think I am not mistaken if I affirm that such a revolution will never be accomplished in Italy. The general strikes and the eventual violence of the mob might result in some confusion and cause some episodes of sedition which would impoverish the country, but sedition and revolution are not the same. Sedition frequently opens the way to reaction. The revolution you expect presupposes special economic, political and internal conditions, and a particular international situation abroad. We have nothing of the kind. Look at the disastrous economic situation in Russia! Look at the reaction that is raging in Hungary! Now you are aware of the fact that Russia and Hungary are the only countries in Europe which can live in a closed economy."

#### SAYS BOLSHEVISM WILL FAIL

To answer the second question, it is sufficient to point out the attitude that Gino Baldesi, Secretary of the G. F. of L., recently assumed in view of the above mentioned congress of the Confederation. "It is necessary," said he, in his paper, *Battaglie Sindacali* (Syndicalistic Battles), "to shorten our range also in the syndicalistic field, that our blows may not be lost." He did not hesitate to say that the alleged necessity of being "maximalist" in class struggles of a given character was "a bluff." According to Baldesi, there are no economic movements of a maximalistic nature.

In the present conflict we can discover four elements of fact indicating that the maximalistic tendencies will not prevail. The first is the genesis and development of the struggle, which so far has given

no evidences of violence or bloodshed. The second is the participation of the Popular Party in the struggle. The third is the neutral attitude of the Italian Government, which can be interpreted as a recognition of the legitimacy that lies on the side of the fighting workers. This policy is justified by efforts for an agreement. The last, but not the least,

is the watchful attitude of the majority of the Italian people, whose good sense and realization of the impending dangers to the life of the nation will, at the proper time, spring up and renew the victorious revival that wiped out the Caporetto disaster.

[See "Italian Syndicalists' Seizure of Factories," Page 65.]

## The American Socialists and Moscow

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

*The Socialist Party of the United States by a referendum vote of its membership has just adopted a resolution on the subject of its international affiliations, the gist which is expressed in the concluding paragraphs:*

*The Socialist Party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates,*

*(a) To insist that no formula such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets" or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth be imposed or exacted as a condition of affiliation with the Third International.*

*(b) To participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one International, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented.*

*The resolution was first offered at the national convention of the party, held last May in New York, by Morris Hillquit, as Chairman of the Committee on International Relations, and was introduced by him with the following explanatory statement:*

THERE is at this time no more important task for the American Socialists than to find a proper basis of international affiliation. The "Second" International is disrupted. The old International of Socialism was composed of practically all Socialist organizations of any standing throughout the world. It was the most compact and most organically connected international organization in the world. The Socialist parties even of contending and conflicting tendencies in the different countries all adhered to the same International.

With the outbreak of the war and the acute differences arising on the question of the proper Socialist attitude toward it the International was split wide open. Whatever remains of the old, the so-called "Second" International, is no doubt still numerically the strongest organization. It includes the Majority Socialist Party of Germany with its large following and the Labor Party of Great

Britain with its millions of members. It includes the Socialist Parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Belgium, Sweden and a number of smaller countries.

### ATTITUDE TOWARD MOSCOW

The Moscow International represents a nucleus of a new international body of socialism. It was originally organized by the Communist Party of Russia with the co-operation of similar parties in some of the former territories of Russia that have since gained their independence and a few small Communist organizations in neighboring countries, while several representatives of foreign countries attended the congress without authority from their organizations. Later a few Socialist parties of western Europe and our own party declared their intention to affiliate with the Third International. The former include the Socialist Parties of Norway, Switzerland and Italy.

Since then, however, several events have occurred which are of great importance as bearing on the condition of the Socialist International. In the first place, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany has adopted a resolution to the effect that it would initiate a movement to bring together all Socialists who had

Independent Labor Party of England has recently taken a similar stand.

#### MORAL ISSUES AT STAKE

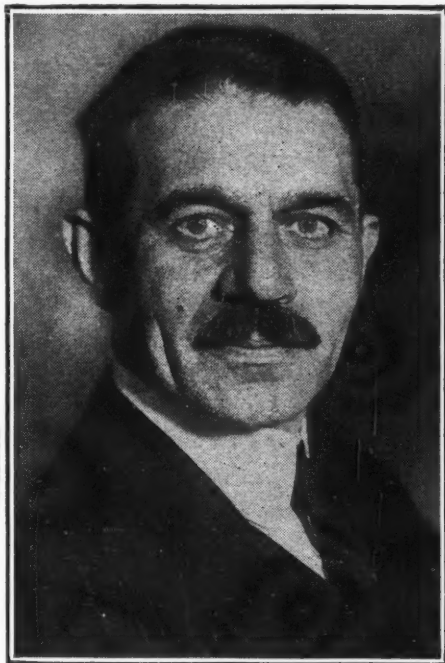
That is the physical lineup. Now, as to the moral side. The "Second International" is the International of that wing of socialism which we have come to style "social patriotic," composed of those who had unconditionally supported their Governments during the war and who since the war in a majority of cases are sharing control of the Government with the middle classes, either as in Austria and Czechoslovakia, where the Cabinet consists of Socialists and non-Socialists; or as in Sweden, where the Cabinet is purely Socialist under a monarchy.

So far as the third group is concerned, the unaffiliated group, comprising the Socialist Party of France under Longuet's leadership, the Independent Labor Party of England, and the Independent Socialists of Germany, they come, I should say, as close to the position of our own party as any Socialist parties abroad.

It is very important for the understanding of our own comrades, as well as by those on the outside, that we draw a clear and distinct line between our relations to Soviet Russia and our relations to the "Third," or Moscow, International.

We have always supported the Soviet Government of Russia. We support it today. Our sympathies are absolutely with it. I hope they will always remain so. Because, no matter whether the Government styles itself aptly or inaptly, it is the Government of the working classes of Russia. It is a Government which strives to abolish capitalism, and, because of that, is being persecuted by every imperialistic and reactionary power on the face of the globe. The reasons that impel our Government in Washington, the Governments of Great Britain and of France, to make war upon Russia, are exactly the same that impel us, as Socialists and working-class representatives, to support Soviet Russia in all its struggles.

But that does not mean that we abdicate our own reason, disregard the cir-



MORRIS HILLQUIT  
*American Socialist leader*  
(Underwood & Underwood)

remained true to socialism during the war and after the war, in one International, to co-operate with the Moscow International; with the further provision that if such union cannot be brought about in conjunction with the parties in other countries, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany would join the Third International anyhow. The leaders of the German Independents made it clear, however, that they meant a union not on the basis of the program of the Third International adopted at Moscow but upon the basis of a common program, acceptable to all parties, including the Independent Socialists of Germany, the Socialist Party of France under the leadership of Longuet, and others. The

\*See report of Second International Congress, Page 178.



cumstances surrounding us, and blindly accept every formula and dogma coming from Soviet Russia as a holy Papal decree. It also does not mean that because we support the struggles of the working class in Russia we accept for this country or for any other country the special institutions and forms into which these struggles have been molded by the historical conditions of Russia.

After we had declared our intention to join the Moscow International, a manifesto was published, signed by the President of the Executive Committee, dated Sept. 1, 1919. The manifesto deals with the relation of the International to national Socialist organizations, and among other things states that in France, America, England and Germany the revolutionary elements are adhering to the Communist movement, "often co-operating with the anarcho-syndicalist groups and the groups that now and then simply call themselves anarchistic." The Executive Committee of the Communist International welcomes this most heartily. Another reference is to our own I. W. W., which is said to lead the movement for Soviets in the United States. The manifesto proclaims that "the universal unifying program is at the present moment the recognition of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power"; that "history has drawn the line between the revolutionary proletariat and the opportunists and between the Communists and the Socialist traitors of every brand." Kautsky in Germany, Longuet in France, the Independent Labor Party as a whole and your humble servant in America, are mentioned as such "traitors," because "they do not wish to lead the struggle for the Soviet power of the proletariat."

With all my deep sympathy for the Russian Government, I must say that if I considered this document final and authoritative, I could see no possible way honestly to remain in a party which accepts this program. I do not, however, attach as much importance to the document as its authors may think it entitled to. I know how such documents are drafted. I believe that the cooler

heads in the Moscow International would repudiate it if it came to a question of actual application. At least I am inclined to think so. I have no authority for the statement.

#### LENIN'S FORMULA REJECTED

I do not think we could stand on this platform and adopt the formula of "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power," because the statement is not only meaningless but misleading, and, as applied to conditions here, it would be anti-Socialist and anti-revolutionary.

The phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" was first coined by Karl Marx, in 1875, when he wrote a letter in criticism of the proposed Social Democratic program of Gotha. Speaking of the period of "transformation," he asserted that the State during that period "could be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Later Engels referred to the Paris Commune as a practical example of such "dictatorship."

But what was the Paris Commune? It was a body elected on the principle of universal suffrage, a Parliament of Paris, which did not exclude any class from voting and consisted of Socialists of all shades and even non-Socialists. What Marx and Engels considered as "dictatorship of the proletariat" was simply the political, even Parliamentary, majority rule of the proletariat.

I will further say in all kindness to our comrades in Russia that they do not have a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet Government is neither a dictatorship nor a rule of the proletariat. That does not make it any less dear to us. But when we speak of dictatorship we mean only one thing—the irresponsible rule of irresponsible rulers; otherwise it is not a dictatorship.

Lenin is not a dictator and Trotzky is not a dictator. They have been elected to their positions, they have not proclaimed themselves in power. They can be recalled by the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet; they can be recalled in numerous ways. There is not an institution or official in Russia



that is not subject to recall or dependent on popular support. Why call it a "dictatorship"? It is a limited democracy, a democracy which excludes from its ranks non-producing classes, just as the democracy in the United States at one time excluded non-propertied classes. Whether such limitation is necessary in Russia, I do not feel called to pass upon. But it is not a dictatorship. Nor is it a rule of the proletariat. The term "proletariat" has a definite meaning. It signifies the industrial worker who does not own his instruments of production. The rule of Russia is a rule of the workers and peasants, with the peasants in the overwhelming majority.

But we are discussing forms of struggle that we are to apply to our movement, and there is no reason in the world why we in the United States should take it upon ourselves to adopt the ideal of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." If we do that, and if it is made a condition of our affiliation that we recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must adopt the Russian definition of the term, and what is that definition? The "dictatorship of the proletariat" implies the disarming, disfranchising and outlawing of the bourgeoisie. In America, as in all countries of democratic and Parliamentary traditions, the Socialist movement cannot consistently employ such methods, because if we did, we would practically say to the parties of the bourgeoisie, to our Democrats and Republicans, "Gentlemen, we want to take advantage of the ballot box in order to get into your legislative bodies, we want to get into power somehow, but when we are in power we shall disarm you and disfranchise you and outlaw you, as a necessary measure," and the logical reply would be, "All right, gentlemen, but today we are already in possession of the public powers which you seek to conquer, and consequently we shall disarm you and disfranchise and outlaw you as a measure of self-preservation."

Socialism must be one thing or the other—either a fight with physical weapons, a reversion to the old methods of street barricades, or a political fight

with the weapons and methods of political democracy.

If we accept the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the sense of destroying, disarming, and disfranchising our opponents, then we have no grounds for complaint if the ruling classes use against us the methods that we say we shall use against them.

The Socialist Party has never advocated such methods. Marxian socialism has never stood for it. And for this reason I say that as far as we, Socialists of America, are concerned, we cannot join the Third International if the recognition of the so-called dictatorship is made an absolute condition of our affiliation.

Then why remain in the Third International at all? Because we realize that the Third International represents, after all, the best spirit in the Socialist movement at this time. Its formulas may be wrong, but, with all that, the Moscow organization is the most promising field for rebuilding the Socialist International, provided it does not remain an International of Eastern or Asiatic socialism, but opens its doors to all revolutionary organizations of socialism, and provided that it adheres to the rules which have always guided the Socialist Internationals, the First as well as the Second, the rule of self-determination in matters of policy and methods of struggle, so long as no vital principle of the Socialist program and Socialist philosophy is violated.

Such a general organization, including the Third International, will never be brought about so long as the Labor Party of England, the Socialist Party of France and the Independent Socialists of Germany stand outside. Just as it is impossible to create a live new International without Russia, just so far is it impossible to create such an International without Germany, France and England.

[According to unofficial reports the Moscow International has rejected the conditional affiliation of the American Socialist Party, and the latter at the present time is not attached to any international organization.]

# "The Biggest Man in the Philippines"

Story of the Wonderful Work of Frank W. Carpenter  
as Department Governor of Mindanao and Sulu

By C. W. FARWELL

WHEN we went into the Philippines the great Kipling extended to us his sympathy in the poem, "Take Up the White Man's Burden." We realize today, as perhaps we did not then, that it is, in truth, the duty of the more advanced nations to guide the steps of the backward races, for we have translated that duty into terms of service. Splendid as has been the story of English Colonial government, it has no such pages as the story of Cuba—the story of a down-trodden people made self-governing, self-supporting and, within the short space of two years, independent, its late autocratic dictator returning to his own land to become a simple citizen, and not one cent of tribute or special privilege to be paid for the task.

In the closing of the term of Frank W. Carpenter as Department Governor of Mindanao and Sulu we have another such record. The story of Mindanao is more wonderful than that of Cuba, for it is the story of a wild, unconquered people brought at last, by patient understanding and helpfulness, to submission, and, paradoxically, to self-government.

It was not done entirely without conquest. Pershing, "with six other Captains," was among the first to go into this wild region, soon after the first American occupation of the islands, and, after some time, Wood was given a special commission as Military Governor General, under the Secretary of War, to do what Roosevelt stated was "one of the most dangerous and disagreeable tasks to be found anywhere in the world." He, in turn, was succeeded by General Bliss, and he by General Pershing. When Pershing was assigned to the Mexican border in 1914 the Insular Civil Government organized the "Department of Mindanao and Sulu," and Frank W. Carpenter, then Executive

Secretary of the islands, was made "Department Governor." In the final bringing of Mindanao into the Philippine Government, under the sovereignty of the United States, "on the same basis as the other provinces," and so completing the work done by the military Governors, Carpenter has won highest praise. Speaking of his work there the Mindanao Herald (Zamboanga) says:

Carpenter is the biggest man that has ever served in the Philippine Government, and he is, without the shadow of a doubt, the best friend that the Filipino people ever had or may hope to have, irrespective of race, and including their own patriots.

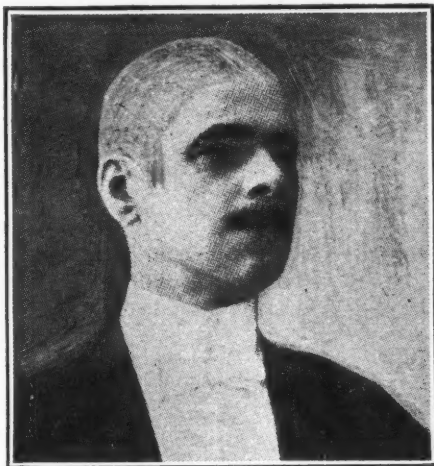
This does not involve any comparison with our concededly great military Generals, but it is one of many evidences that Carpenter has won a secure place in the hearts of the people he served.

## THE MOROS OF MINDANAO

Mindanao is the large island lying at the extreme southern end of the group known, in honor of King of Spain, as the Philippines. This island, together with the Sulu Archipelago, has for centuries been dominated by Moros, or Mohammedans, who found their way into this far spot over the chain of islands leading from the Asiatic mainland to Borneo. Pirates for centuries, enslaving other peoples, they were as cruel to their own as to their victims, and the intolerance of their religious beliefs gave them another excuse to loot and murder. Little of the influence of civilization had touched them, even such as goes with the Mohammedan creed. The Sultan of Sulu was their supreme ruler, and at the same time was the head of the Mohammedan Church for that whole section. They assimilated in part, and conquered in part, the equally wild, if not equally savage, natives of the island in that part of the archipelago, and were a constant

menace to the developing civilization of the northern islands.

General Wood reduced Mindanao to something like military order. Many of the fiercest leaders were killed or captured, and a definite beginning was made toward the abolition of slavery and reasonable recognition by the Moros of the right of other people to live on the



FRANK W. CARPENTER  
*Governor of the Department of Mindanao  
and Sulu, P. I.*

earth. Despite his great work, however, the task was too great to be done in three years, or yet in ten.

#### MR. CARPENTER'S QUALIFICATIONS

No one knew the problems of the Philippines better than Frank W. Carpenter. He had come over in the first days of American occupation, with General Lawton. After that distinguished General's death he was assigned as chief clerk to General Bates, and in that capacity had shared all the knowledge on which the Bates treaty, our first attempt to handle the Mindanao problem, was based. Through a series of well-earned promotions he came at last to the position of assistant Executive Secretary, and, on the death of Arthur Ferguson, to whom one would like to stop and pay a word of tribute, he became Executive Secretary in 1906.

This position was one of the most important in the islands, second only, in-

deed, to that of Governor General. The Executive Secretary came into personal contact with practically ever official, and much of the Government functioned around him. To Frank W. Carpenter all this influence and power meant but an opportunity for greater service to his country and to the Philippine people. Speaking of this phase of his character and of his work, now completed, The Manila Free Press declared:

We have not said half of what might be said. We have not told, for instance, of those occasions when, toward the close of a legislative session, he fainted, not once but several times, from sheer exhaustion and overwork—fainted, only to resume his work when revived. We have not told of his being warned by his physician of possible fatal collapse, and continuing just the same. We have said nothing of his never taking a vacation during his long term of twenty years' service. We have omitted mention of that iron control which, beneath the sting of a thousand petty irritations, still enabled him to keep himself in hand. Nor have we touched upon the supreme loyalty and devotion of his associates and subordinates, loyalty and devotion begotten by the example of an official life that was a daily sacrifice, an immolation, on the altar of duty.

It was to this man that was assigned the task of bringing the strange, wild people, more or less conquered in a military sense, but wholly unconquered in spirit, to a willingness not only to obey but to give unswerving loyalty to the Filipino Government and to become a part of it under the sovereignty of the United States of America.

#### PROGRESS IN THREE YEARS

Some idea of the conditions, and of Governor Carpenter's plans for meeting them, may be gained from the following portions of three official reports, which give glimpses of progress from 1915 to 1918:

This uncontrolled mountain district (the converging points of the provinces of Bukidnon, Cotabato and Lanao) has from time immemorial been the refuge of lawless characters from the settlements of Central Mindanao. While it has been traversed by individual Government agents and by army and constabulary organizations, it has never been brought under Government control or made ac-

cessible by opening roads or improved trails. \* \* \* Accordingly it was decided to adopt a program of exploration, mapping, and trail and telephone construction, and additional constabulary stations, which would result in opening up this district and bringing it definitely under Government control.—*Report of Philippine Commission for 1915.*

Trails, schools, telephones and dispensaries must follow the establishment of law and order to make Government control definite and permanent. The 100-mile horseback trail and telephone line from Tamaran, Lanao, to Fort Pikit, Cotobato, is now nearing completion. Dispensaries, hospitals and agricultural schools are now being provided throughout Central Mindanao. Medical relief and protection by the Government are now being sought by a formerly lawless people, and thousands of the younger generation are attending schools to become future useful citizens.—*Report of Philippine Commission for 1916.*

With the withdrawal of the military\* in the last months of 1917, breaking up the garrisons at Ludlow Barracks, Parang, Cotobato (two battalions), and Camps Keithley and Overton, Lanao (two battalions), leaving only one battalion at Petit Barracks, Zamboanga, the maintenance of public order has been left entirely in the hands of the constabulary, and, within their respective spheres of action, of the local peace officers. \* \* \* There is now observed among Mohammedans and pagans a clear idea of government and respect for law and love of peace and order.—*Report of Director of Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, 1918*

#### A DIPLOMATIC ACHIEVEMENT

The abdication of the Sultan of Sulu, with whom the Bates treaty was drawn up, together with his recognition as supreme head of the Mohammedan Church in the Philippines, constitutes one of the most remarkable documents in the pages of American history, and may be said to be almost unprecedented in dealings with Oriental potentates. The Sultan was not a very powerful potentate, but he had been recognized by Great Britain and by Holland, as well as by the United States, and securing his abdication meant the exercise of diplomacy of the highest order. The situation was complicated by the fact that he was at the head of a large religious body, antagonistic to all of the traditions of the people of the United

States, but having many millions of followers ready to resent anything that savored of governmental attack upon one of their order. Under his own spiritual domain he could count about 450,000 souls, of whom he was the absolute temporal ruler as well.

The continued threat of a "holy war," and the running amuck of the devotees of Mohammed, many of them living in established American territory, but denying American jurisdiction, made them anything but pleasant neighbors. A little story is told of the early days of American occupation. When the followers of the prophet in a certain port had been more than usually destructive, their datu, in response to the protest of the officer in command of the American troops, stated that his men were "juramentado" (under a holy vow to kill Christians, and consecrated by a priest to the task) and that he did not dare to interfere. The American studied the matter for a moment, shrugged his shoulders and went back to his quarters without comment, and the datu smiled triumphantly.

Early the next morning a small group of American soldiers sauntered down the principal street. Suddenly one of them let out a warwhoop, at the same time springing wildly into the air and firing off a revolver three or four times in rapid succession. The others watched him as if fascinated for a moment, and then, one after another, they joined in what quickly became a wild Apache dance, and while a close observer might have noted that most of the shots went into the air, there were some which flew dangerously near the homes of the datu and of the moulvie (Mohammedan priest) across the street. The datu watched the proceedings for a few moments, then sent word to the American commanding officer, who, however, hardly glanced up from his mail to listen to the story told by the frightened messenger. At last the datu went himself to the officer's quarters with an urgent request that something be done at once or all the people of the village would be killed. The commander turned in his chair and replied with a Yankee drawl:

\*These troops of the regular United States Army were sent to Siberia.



"Well, now, I am real sorry. But you see the men have—what do you call it in your religion?—gone juramentado, and I cannot do anything with them at all. We will just have to wait until they get over it."

"But you have no 'juramento' in your religion!" exclaimed the astonished datu.

"Don't you fool yourself!" was the quick answer; "we have a good old orthodox command to 'smite with the sword,' and if ever a bunch needed smiting these heathen of yours do, and they will get it good and proper until they learn how to behave themselves!"

#### ABDICATION OF THE SULTAN

The formal abdication of the Sultan, signed on March 22, 1915, read as follows:

The Sultan of Sulu, on his own account and in behalf of his adherents and people in the Sulu Archipelago and elsewhere within American territory, without any reservation or limitation whatsoever, ratifies and confirms his recognition of the sovereignty of the United States of America. \* \* \*

Included in this agreement was the recognition of the Sultan as titular and spiritual head of the Mohammedans in American territory. The number of these is estimated at about 450,000. The terms under which these people were given the right, dear to every American heart, "to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience," and yet were brought under the moral limitations and restrictions of civilization, are shown by the following extract from the preamble of the agreement:

Whereas, the Sultan of Sulu is the titular spiritual head of the Mohammedan Church in the Sulu Archipelago, with all the rights and privileges which under the Government of the United States of America may be exercised by such an ecclesiastical authority, and subject to the same limitations which apply to the supreme spiritual heads of all other religions existing in American territory, including the right to solicit and receive voluntary popular contributions for the support of the clergy, and other necessary lawful expenses of an ecclesiastical character. \* \* \* (Extract from the Preamble.)

And, in the body of the agreement:

The Sultan of Sulu and his adherents and people of the Mohammedan faith shall

have the same religious freedom had by the adherents of all other religious creeds, the practice of which is not in violation of the basic principles of the laws of the United States.

The bigness of it! And the subtlety of it! In his report Governor Carpenter called attention to the following fact:

It is important to note that there is included within the terms of the paragraph of the agreement just quoted a limitation as to religious practice which necessarily includes the abandonment of the practice of polygamy. \* \* \* An effort to impose upon the people of Sulu at this time the invalidation of polygamous marriages heretofore contracted, the prohibition at this time of polygamy or the discontinuance of divorce must unavoidably result in the active resistance of a people imbued with a fantastic determination to die rather than to submit to a privation of their religious liberty in matters they believe to be fundamental and sanctioned by divine authority.

None the less, a sure foundation is laid for the future, and one may be permitted the reflection that, "within the memory of men now living," we handled our own problem of polygamy with far more "fuss and commotion."

#### A COMPLETE SUCCESS

When, two years later, in 1917, an effort was made to incite the followers of Mohammed to take up the cause of the Central European Powers by starting a holy war, the head of the Mohammedan Church in America remained loyal, and his people entered the service and contributed to war work as loyal American citizens. And when it was necessary to put the troops of the regular army in the Philippines into active service, all but one of the garrisons in Mindanao were withdrawn (as shown in Governor Carpenter's report), leaving the Province to be controlled solely by the police force known as the constabulary. Only those who knew the conditions in the island at the time of the American occupation can realize what a long step forward this was.

Speaking of the agreement, a Manila paper said:

In the Philippines those who understand appreciate the wonder of the abdication. So, also, do the representatives of Great Britain, and of Holland in the East Indies and Java. \* \* \* A like comment

may be made upon the larger, if less dramatic, accomplishment of persuading a Mohammedan people peacefully to acknowledge the sovereignty of a Christian people. Though it has evoked some comment here, more surprised has been the comment evoked in Government circles in India and Borneo and Indo-China.

Another paper came out with:

The transformation which Governor Carpenter has brought about in Mindanao and Sulu is a work of genius of the very highest magnitude, and stands out as a big thing from the standpoint of State, and, under a Government like Great Britain, would have brought him more than knighthood; but his title to nobility exists in the hearts and minds of a people to whom he has given the best that is in him, and to whom he has been a real benefactor.

To "lose their liberty" was but to find it again in larger measure. From an Oriental autocracy, in which the life of every man was at the mercy of the ruling potentate, the people came under a representative Government, and, by wise leadership and teaching, were helped to elect their own representatives, both for local Government and for Congress in Manila, where they became, in the words of the original plan, "just like all the rest of the Provinces" in representation and form of government.

The Department of Mindanao and Sulu has recently been abolished by special act of the Philippine Congress, the Province of Mindanao being added to the list of divisions that correspond to our own States. The Prime Minister of the Sultan of Sulu, Hadji Butu, was duly elected to represent the new Province in Congress. In his opening speech, delivered in the Moro language, he paid eloquent tribute to the policy which had, without bitterness or antagonism, brought the new Province into the Government, and urged that the policies inaugurated there by the retiring Department Governor be continued.

#### NON-CHRISTIAN TRIBES

In 1917 the Insular Government established the new Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, the intent being

to bring all these people under its jurisdiction for the purpose of fostering, by all adequate means, and in sympathetic, rapid and complete manner, the moral, social, material, economic and political

development of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos, always having in view the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between, and the complete fusion of, all the Christian and non-Christian elements populating the Provinces of the archipelago.—*Act Establishing the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes*, 1917.

These are the people of whom one sees pictures in travel magazines in their birthday clothes carrying bows and arrows or perhaps half clothed in fantastic colors so arranged as to set off the tattoo marks, in which, like all savage folk, they delight. Their number is much less, however, than is usually supposed—perhaps 100,000, outside of Mindanao Province. They are what may be called pagans, having no religious unity, each tribe having its own spirits of trees and rocks and mountains.

Governor Carpenter was made Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. This was in recognition of the fact that he knew more about them than perhaps any one else in the islands and that he had most of them already under his jurisdiction. Speaking of the work done by this bureau, Maximo M. Kalaw, Secretary of the Philippine Mission to the United States, writes:

Our policy toward the non-Christian tribes is pronounced by all unbiased observers to be a decided success. It is an unprecedented treatment of the non-Christian peoples by their more civilized fellow-men, who, by sheer numbers, strength and civilization, could, under recognized practices, claim to be sole owners of the country. Teachers, doctors and nurses from all over the islands have carried a message of friendship and love, and have so established more firmly a basis of national solidarity than blood and iron could have done.

#### MAKING WONDERFUL STRIDES

From the beginning of the American occupation these tribes have been an object of interest to venturesome Americans, who have gone among them and made friends, though in the beginning it was as much as a man's life was worth to be caught at their mercy. But they still resist all attempts to interfere with their wild freedom, and only "messengers of friendship and love," doctors and nurses, together with the teachers,

can ever convince them that they have all to gain and nothing to lose by coming under the governmental jurisdiction. Mr. Carpenter sent these messengers, carefully choosing each one, as for a real mission. His policy was wholly one of education and helpfulness and of patient waiting for the appreciation which would come only when doubly earned. A writer in The Saturday Evening Post, a Filipino, says:

In the last three years the non-Christian tribes have made wonderful strides forward because of new leadership, and today they are not the Moros of yesterday. Yesterday they were paying no taxes because they would not. Today they are paying taxes because they are willing to do so. Yesterday they were altogether opposed to modern sanitation. Today they have a fair sanitation system, with hospitals, dispensaries, doctors, trained nurses and assistants coming from their own people. With the exception of a few schools they did not know what modern education meant. Today they have graduate nurses, girls and boys in the Philippine Normal School, in the Manila High School and in many of the colleges of the Philippines and of the United States. \* \* \* Their children are in schools in their own towns \* \* \* singing "Philippines, my Philippines," with patriotism and high spirit.

#### A JUST CAUSE OF PRIDE

It is a wonderful story—all of it—the story of 1899 to 1920. To one who remembers, one who looks back to that

breakfast hour in Balingigan, to the work of Curry in Samar, of Wood in Mindanao—to one who has sailed the beautiful inter-island seas, followed wild trails, drifted down tortuous inland streams or climbed almost trackless mountains, always with a gun ready, always watching behind as well as before; one who (as the writer did not) has faced the razor-sharp *kris* of a fanatic Moro—it all reads like a fairy tale. Yet any one who has been there and watched Carpenter's work is ready to accept in fullest measure the last sentence of a recent letter from the islands, which, after acknowledging that "there is still much to be done," adds: "You would not know these people—they have traveled in seven-league boots!"

But our heroes take themselves very much for granted. If any one were to meet Frank W. Carpenter at the Golden Gate, which he is soon to pass through, returning to this country for the first vacation in twenty years, he would smile half-sadly at any mention of heroism, and would say that he had done only what any one else would have done in his place. He has not kept his youth in that far tropical land; he has given that and, more than that, the richness of manhood, the toil and struggle of middle age, to his country. He comes back desiring no other title than that of American.

## Independence Promised to Egypt

### Sketch of the Long Struggle of the Nationalists—Complete Autonomy Granted by Great Britain

**Z**AGLUL Pasha, like Moses, has prevailed upon the ruler of Egypt to let his people go; but, unlike Pharaoh, Lloyd George does not appear to repent his action. Egypt henceforth is to be an independent country, fulfilling the aspirations aroused by the defeat of autocracy in the great war. This step in reconstruction which is expected to replace a discontented, subject people by a friendly nation, is somewhat

after the plan adopted by the United States with regard to Cuba when the latter was freed from the Spanish yoke.

More than fifty years ago the completion of the Suez Canal disturbed the entire balance of power in the Mediterranean, bringing Egypt into great prominence. Since then the spirit of democracy, aided by the vast progress of science, has brought the nations of the world nearer together. Egypt has moved

with the rest, but more slowly. Nationalism awoke with Arabi Bey's rebellion against the dual French and British control, which had been established in 1876. France declined to aid in restoring order, and Great Britain assumed the task alone. A general assembly was constituted in 1883, but its powers were mostly consultative.

There followed, under English tutelage, thirty years of tranquillity, during which Egypt grew in population and steadily increased in prosperity and production. Slavery was abolished and the octroi discontinued. The fellaheen waxed fat on their fertile farms, and the great university of El Azhar turned out 4,000 students a year from all parts of the Moslem world, becoming gradually a centre of Egyptian nationalism as well as of Moslem theology. Yet Great Britain retained control, and her unfulfilled pledge of abandoning the occupation of Egypt, given by Gladstone in 1882, was occasionally referred to by European diplomats as a glaring instance of British bad faith.

New electoral laws were promulgated in July, 1913, creating a real legislative assembly of sixty-six elected members and seventeen nominated by the Government to represent certain minorities. Although the Government is not bound by the Assembly's decrees, the latter holds the purse strings and no new direct, personal, or land taxes can be imposed without its sanction.

One year after this reform was inaugurated the great war burst upon the world. Turkey, two months after the battle of the Marne, joined the Teutonic Powers and had the hearty support of the Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, who left Cairo for Constantinople. Great Britain promptly deposed him, declared Egypt a British protectorate, and set up as nominal ruler Hussein Kamil, eldest living Prince of the family of Muhammed Ali and uncle of Abbas. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his brother, Ahmed Fuad.

A British High Commissioner at Cairo was the real sovereign power. Egypt, by British direction, had joined in the conflict on the side of the Allies, the ministry issuing a declaration to that ef-

fect on Aug. 6, 1914, but the sympathy of a large proportion of the people was alienated, and fear of further British encroachments gave birth to the Nationalist Party. To allay this, King George



EGYPTIAN PREMIER TALKING WITH LORD ALLENBY, THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR EGYPT, FAMOUS AS THE CONQUEROR OF PALESTINE. THE PREMIER, SHORTLY BEFORE THIS PICTURE WAS TAKEN, HAD NARROWLY ESCAPED ASSASSINATION

(International)

telegraphed to Hussein Kamil on his elevation to Khedivial honors:

I feel convinced that you will be able with the co-operation of your Ministers and the protection of Great Britain to overcome successfully all the influences which are seeking to destroy the independence of Egypt.

President Wilson's proposals as a basis for peace created widespread interest throughout the East, especially the part of his Fourteen Points referring to the self-determination of nationalities. His principles became the text for patriotic harangues in the remotest hamlets of Egypt. Immediately after the armistice a delegation was formed to promote independence. Zaglul Pasha





NATIVE VILLAGE OF AULAD EMIR ON THE BANK OF THE UPPER NILE. THE ABUNDANT VEGETATION IS TYPICAL OF THE FERTILE PART OF EGYPT WHICH HERODOTUS CALLED "THE GIFT OF THE NILE"

was chosen its head, and petitions for independence were circulated throughout Egypt. More than two million signatures were obtained.

Armed with such a mandate Zaglul Pasha and a committee of the delegation called on the British High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, and urged immediate withdrawal of the troops and civil functionaries. Sir Reginald refused to take any action unless ordered by the home Government. The delega-

tion then demanded permission for a committee to go to Paris and London to plead the cause of Egypt before the Peace Conference and arrange for British evacuation. The Egyptian Premier, Rushdi Pasha, asked to accompany the delegation.

Both requests were refused. The Premier resigned and for four months Egypt was without a Government other than that of the British military authorities. Zaglul continued his prop-



A VILLAGE IN THE NILE DELTA, SCENE OF RECENT FIGHTING. THE NATIVES STILL CONSIDER THEMSELVES TURKISH SUBJECTS AND STUBBORNLY RESISTED THE BRITISH

aganda, and the cry for independence was taken up by Egyptians in other lands. The British replied by ousting department officials, replacing Egyptians with Englishmen to run the Government. Zaglul continued to demand a hearing before the Peace Conference, and, in reply to his insistence, the British authorities arrested him and three other members of the delegation and deported them to Malta, where they were imprisoned. That was on March 8, 1919.

A violent revolt at once spread from the Delta to the remotest corners of the Egyptian Sudan. Railways were cut, stations burned and public buildings destroyed. Small garrisons were massacred and isolated parties of foreigners were murdered. A party of unarmed officers and soldiers aboard a train was hacked to pieces, and Cairo itself was completely cut off from communication with the rest of the country. British officers were struck down in the streets of the capital and bloody reprisals were inflicted by British soldiers in native quarters of the town.

Sir Reginald Wingate was in London at the time of the outbreak, and General Allenby, who was in Paris, was sent to replace him in Egypt as special High Commissioner, with instructions to restore order at all costs.

A general strike accompanied the revolt, proclaimed by students of the University of El Azhar. In Cairo the coachmen, factory workers, printers, bakers, butchers and street sweepers quit work. Lawyers deserted the courts and there was a general cessation of business. Christian Copts joined the Mohammedan Ulemas in the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians!" Women left their harems to harangue the crowds in the street.

Many of those taking part in the demonstrations were shot down by British soldiers, and even children carrying Egyptian flags were fired upon. The funerals of the victims were the occasion of immense popular outpourings which showed the people united in their demands.

In the midst of it all General Allenby

arrived. Seeing that force was of no avail to calm the agitation, he released Zaglul and his companions in Malta and allowed them to proceed to Paris, where, however, they were denied a hearing by the Peace Conference. President Wilson, in April, issued a proclamation recognizing the British protectorate of Egypt. This was a great disappointment to the Nationalists, but its effect was considerably modified by a note of Secretary Lansing to Senator Owen last December, in which he interpreted it as recognizing merely such control as had been implied in the official announcement of a protectorate "only in view of a state of war." Secretary Lansing added: "It is assumed that it is the purpose of Great Britain to carry out the assurances given by King George to the late Sultan of Egypt" (quoted above).

There was a month of martial law until General Allenby found an official, Yusuf Pasha, a Copt who had held several Cabinet positions, to take the office of Premier. The home Government in May, 1919, appointed a commission under Lord Milner to go to Egypt to undertake a peaceful adjustment with the Nationalist leaders.

Lord Milner's mission went to Egypt in November, but was boycotted severely and found it difficult to get testimony of influential persons regarding what is best for the country. Members of the Egyptian delegation refused to appear. The mission traveled extensively in the country, however, and saw enough to convince it that the demand for independence was universal. This was accentuated by an announcement of the University on Jan. 7 urging Britain to "recognize the complete independence of a country distinguished by a glorious heritage and a peculiar predominance in the Orient." The commission returned to London last March, and Zaglul with some of the Nationalist delegates followed it there in May.

Meanwhile one of their number, Mahmud Pasha, came to Washington, set up an Egyptian Nationalist headquarters, and employed ex-Governor Folk of Missouri to forward their interests. The

attitude of the Senate and the Administration was shown to be favorable, and Mr. Folk suggested that it would be advisable for the Nationalists to indicate to the Milner commission a basis of settlement which would be acceptable to the Egyptians. This advice was followed, and the conditions urged in London were : (1) Abolition of the protectorate; (2) internal independence, except foreign rights, public debts, and control of the Suez Canal; (3) external independence. These proposals were favorably received, and a joint conference was held, the outcome of which is the agreement of Great Britain to recog-

nize the independence of Egypt. The fundamental points of the agreement, as announced semi-officially on Aug. 23, 1920, are:

"Egypt will recognize Great Britain's privileged position in the valley of the Nile and agree, in case of war, to afford every facility for access to Egyptian territory. Great Britain will maintain a garrison in Egypt in the canal zone. Egypt regains control of foreign relations, subject to her not making treaties contrary to British policy, and will have the right to maintain diplomatic representatives abroad. Capitulations will be abolished."

## Kenya Colony: British East Africa Under a New Name

**M**AJOR GEN. SIR EDWARD NORTHEY, Governor of what was formerly known as the Protectorate of British East Africa, announced in a speech before the Legislative Council at Nairobi on July 5, 1920, that an Order in Council had been signed annexing British East Africa to the British Crown under the name of the Kenya Colony. The Sultan of Zanzibar's coast dominions, he stated, would retain the status of a protectorate under the name of the "Kenya Protectorate."\*

The change, General Northey said, would enable a loan to be floated for the development of the country. Lord Milner, the Secretary of State, had sanctioned the raising of £5,000,000 for this purpose. The previous native policy would be maintained. Plans for the distribution of this loan and its employment, he added, had been drawn up

by the Secretary. Lord Milner had approved the division of the colony into white-settled areas under Resident Magistrates, and native reserves under



NEW NAMES FOR TWO GREAT BRITISH COLONIES IN EAST AFRICA

\*British East Africa, up to the time of this change, had been a "protectorate," pure and simple, and hence had not been considered British territory. Under the new régime the British settlers will enjoy much greater security in their development of the country, and the financial problem of the colony itself will be greatly simplified. The new name chosen—Kenia or Kenya—is that of the great volcanic, glacier-clad mountain—one of the wonder mountains of Africa—which rises to a height of 17,000 feet midway between the Indian Ocean and the Uganda Protectorate. The coast strip, which remains under a protectorate, is a part of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, and has hitherto been known as the Seyidie (the Sultan's Land). Since 1890 it has been under British control.—EDITOR.

native Commissioners. A definite policy regarding the important question of the treatment of natives of British India in Kenya Colony had not yet been reached.

The Government's announcement aroused a debate in the House of Lords on July 14, in which Lord Islington, Viscount Bryce and the Archbishop of Canterbury brought up the question of the method by which native labor had been and was being obtained in the new

Crown land. Information received by them indicated that the conditions prevailing were tantamount to a form of forced labor for the benefit of private exploiters. Protesting against this, they asked for an explanation from the Secretary of State. In his reply Lord Milner denied that the natives were being exploited to the advantage of the Euro-

pean settlers. A form of compulsory labor, he admitted, was in vogue, but only for State and not for private advantage, and even this was limited to sixty days out of the year for those already fully employed. In all other respects the natives were free to work or to refuse to work, and to choose their own employers.

## Women at the Conventions

By EMILY NEWELL BLAIR

**T**HE outstanding fact in regard to the women at the national conventions is that they were there.

In 1916 one needed a spyglass to detect a woman in the serried ranks of delegates. In 1920 black, brown, red, gray and blonde coiffures sprinkled every row.

The second fact is that the presence of the women seemed taken as a matter of course. I had expected to be thrilled with the novelty of it. I had instead to keep reminding myself that it was a novelty to see women delegates, to have women seconding nominations, for a woman to conduct a temporary Chairman to the platform. The scene was robbed of the spectacular by the way in which the men took the women and the women took themselves for granted.

In a Democratic convention this might have been expected. The Southern man has a habit of accepting whatever a Southern woman does. He may deny her whole sex suffrage, he may place upon the statute books laws denying women parental and property rights, but he permits the individual woman to exercise her queenship as she pleases. So when a Southern woman asked a Virginia gentleman to grant her a hearing before the Resolutions Committee, what was he to do but smile and grant it? When women walked into the auditorium eighty-five strong, what could Southern men do but yield the best seats, even though they continued to refuse the thirty-sixth State for ratification of the suffrage Amendment?

The same attitude, however, was shown by Northern Republicans. Though not so gallant as his Senatorial confrère of the Democratic Party, the Chairman of the Republican Resolutions Committee and the Republican lay delegate accepted the women with that air of yielding gracefully to the inevitable with which the man who had so long opposed the suffrage resolution in the Senate accepted the escort of a woman to one of the proudest positions of his career, Chairman of the Republican National Convention.

"Eight years ago," said the wife of an erstwhile Treasurer of a National Committee, "my husband was horrified when I suggested that I should accompany him to the national convention. It was no place for a woman, he assured me. Four years ago he let me go along to stay in his room and answer the telephone. This year I am a delegate at large and he accompanies me."

### WHEN MRS. BASS PRESIDED

One incident whose significance was not noted by the press points to this attitude of the political party organizations. Mrs. George Bass, Chairman of the Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, called the Democratic Convention to order one morning. Though this was the first time in history that a woman had presided over a great political convention, it seemed to occur to no one to make a function of it.

"Mr. Cummings is not here," said some one. "Who shall take his place?"



"Mrs. Bass, of course," was the answer. "She is next in authority."

So without a pat at her nose or a moment in which to consider what a far cry this was from waiting outside of committee rooms, a woman sent her voice through the auto-vox commanding the



MRS. GEORGE BASS  
*First woman to preside over a National convention*

representatives of the Democratic Party in convention assembled to come to order.

The Republicans made no more of a function of the first appearance of a woman speaker upon their rostrum when Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter of Kansas spoke to the delegates. She was but sandwiched in between men speakers, and the Program Committee, whoever it was, did not even take the pains to choose the best woman speaker or the official representative of the Republican women. Some of the women resented this, but I believe it merely indicated that women were accepted in the convention on the same footing as men, and so subject to the same fortuitous fortune.

The first seconding speech ever made by a woman was made the occasion of an ovation. The convention rose to its feet

in recognition of the first woman to tell duly elected representatives of a great party whom they ought to select as their standard bearer. But I think this recognition was due rather to the logic, the conciseness, the power of Mrs. Douglas Robinson, sister of Theodore Roosevelt, than to the novelty of the situation.

#### MINOR ROLES NOT ENOUGH

For a while it looked as if the business of seconding nominations was to be shifted to the women. Doubtless to many politicians this would seem not only a business for which women were well fitted but adequate scope for their political abilities. It was evident to those who surveyed the situation, however, that the women at both conventions, although glad to be accepted as a matter of course, had no intention of being assigned to one specified political compartment. Their ultimate aim, kept ever in view by their women leaders, was to effect results. Thus they feared the apparent inclination to utilize them as seconders, and rejoiced when a Democratic woman broke the custom by placing a man in nomination, even though only for the Vice Presidency, and another Democratic woman, Mrs. Oleson of Minnesota, joined in the discussion of the minority report of the Resolutions Committee. The women knew, Republican as well as Democratic, that the two most important things done by women at either convention was the demand made by an Iowa woman delegate for a rollcall of her State delegation and the appearance of Mrs. W. W. Martin of Missouri before both National Committee and Credentials Committee to oppose the seating of Senator Reed—important, because they showed that women had come to the convention to be counted and to be heard. Next to this in importance was the appointment of women on a Republican Committee and on the Credentials Committee of the Democratic Convention. There were no women on either of the Platform Committees.

Though taking the women as a matter of course, the parties were not unaware of their presence. On the contrary, this presence made both conven-

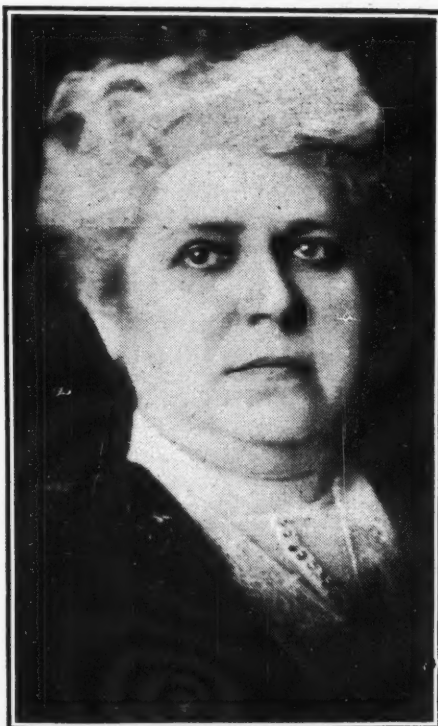


DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

tions seem more like social occasions than ever before. The Republican Convention was like a before-the-war reception. Everything was formal, proper, dignified, and the women guests, while welcomed, were made to feel that they must be careful not to appear unwomanly or unguest-like. On the other hand, the Democratic Convention was like a war block party. All the family was there, and every family on the block. You could not tell the maid from the mistress, the banker from the baker, and when the music started, all joined in, whether it was a Virginia reel, a New York tango, or a Western waltz.

Yes, in spite of the matter-of-factness with which they were received, the women did change the character of the conventions. They did more. They affected the action as well as the actions of the conventions. The barometer by which we may measure the effect upon a party of a set of opinions is its platform. In fact, a platform is more valuable as a barometer than as a chart. On the platforms the women set their mark.

An all-partisan organization called the League of Women Voters sent a deputation to appear before the Resolutions Committee of both the major parties. They asked each party to insert six planks which they said were advocated by, and addressed to the interests of, the women of the country. These planks were presented to the Republican Committee by Republican women—Mrs. Richard Edwards, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. Louis Slade and Mrs. George Gellhorn. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, the Chairman of the league, introduced the speakers and explained briefly that the purpose of the league was to secure legislation affecting women and children. Before the Democratic Resolutions Committee the planks were presented by Democratic women—Mrs. Percy Pennypacker, Miss Ella Dortch, Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, and myself—Mrs. Park again explaining the purpose of the league. The speeches were limited to five or ten minutes each, and at each



MISS MARY GARRETT HAY

hearing the women were complimented upon their brevity and clearness. Some of the men went further and said it was an impressive moment when the women of their own party came to tell them that the women of the country were asking of political parties the protection of mothers, the education of their children, citizenship and equal opportunity to earn their daily bread.

#### FATE OF PLANKS OFFERED

The Republican platform omitted some of the planks desired, in particular that providing for the protection of infant life through a Federal program for maternity and infancy care. The planks incorporated were those declaring for independent citizenship for women, prohibition of child labor, equal wage for equal work, increased appropriations for vocational training in home economics and training in citizenship for the youth of our land.

The Democratic platform omitted only the plank declaring for the establish-



MRS. DOUGLAS ROBINSON  
*Sister of ex-President Roosevelt, who  
seconded General Wood's nomination*  
(© International)



MRS. PERCY PENNYPACKER

ment of a Federal Department of Education. In addition to those appearing in the Republican platform, it declared in favor of the protection of maternity and infancy, adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau, Federal aid for the removal of illiteracy and for the increase of teachers' salaries, instruction in citizenship for the immigrant, joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments, full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or interest and a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene.

To the bystander the insertion of these planks may not seem important. But even were they not themselves weightier than on their surface they appear to be, their insertion marks the recognition by political parties of the problems pertaining to what women have long regarded as their special interests.

The appearance of these members of the League of Women Voters before the conventions of both parties as honored guests is itself of interest. It marks a

departure from the old brand of partisanship. Perhaps it is too much to say it indicates a new type of citizenship, but it does give recognition to the fact that there are planks which are neither Republican nor Democratic, or, rather, which belong to both, and that such planks should be accepted by both and thus removed from controversy.

#### PARTY ORGANIZATION

The women of both parties were wholeheartedly in favor of these planks. The fact that the Republican Party was not as responsive to the women's plea for them may not be charged against the Republican women. They were occupied in Chicago with what seemed to them a paramount question, or at least one that must be settled first, namely, their status in their party. The question of how women would function in the Democratic Party had already been settled, and they went to San Francisco looking for something to do.

At the Democratic Convention the women leaders were able to persuade their committee to adopt their plan of organization. This plan provides that every State shall elect a National Committeewoman, who shall sit upon the National Committee with powers and privileges equal to those heretofore enjoyed by the National Committeeman. The membership of the National Committee is thus doubled and its power distributed equally between the men and women. The Executive Committee is also to be composed of men and women in equal proportion. Prior to the acceptance of this report by the convention the National Committeeman had appointed a temporary Committeewoman who sat with the National Committee, though she had no vote there. There had also been an Executive Committee, with seventeen women upon it, appointed by the National Committee. These women did have a vote. The wisdom of getting this matter of the method of organizing the party's women out of the way was shown by the fact that it enabled the women to hold two organization meetings, at which they laid plans



MRS. MEDILL McCORMICK

for organizing the women of the States for their Presidential candidate. Thus the Democratic women were sent home with definite plans and with a very decided ambition to become good party members and to urge other women to do likewise.

Prior to the Republican Convention the organization of the Republican women had been in charge of a committee of women which acted with the National Committee. One of the problems to be decided by the women of the convention was whether this system should be continued or another substituted. The first conference of the Republican women, on the day before the convention, opened was devoted to an hour and a half's discussion of whether they should ask their Rules Committee for equal or adequate representation. A fine point is here involved, and women of equal devotion to the cause of the political representation of women have disagreed as to the best method. A large number of women, led by Miss Mary Garrett Hay of New York, then Chairman of the Republican Women's Committee and the idol of suffragists, wanted an organization of women parallel to that of the men's. Another group of women, led by Mrs. Medill





MRS. EMILY NEWELL BLAIR  
(© Gerhard Sisters, St. Louis)

McCormick, probably the most astute woman politician in the country, contended that women should stop drawing the sex line now that they had the suffrage and go into the parties on an equal footing with the men, taking their chance of election to Chairmanships or committees merely as individuals. If the women insisted upon parallel or equal representation, said Mrs. McCormick, then they might find themselves segregated and unable to effect results, whereas, if they were not set off apart from the men, a woman, if the better politician, might in time become the Chairman of the National Committee itself. Mrs. McCormick did not set this goal for women, but her logic points to it.

At the same time it was recognized that for a time at least women might not, in a free-for-all election, gain any representation at all. Therefore, some special provision for women should be made upon the executive body. Mrs. McCormick's compromise plan was to enlarge the Executive Committee by having placed upon it an adequate number of women, making the Vice Chairman and the Assistant Secretary

women. This was the plan adopted by the Rules Committee of the convention. The executive power, it is claimed, really rests with this committee, and a group of strong women can, if they play good politics, exercise much power.

I have only described the organization of the women of the two parties because it bore upon the actions of the women at the conventions. Undoubtedly it was because the Republican women were so occupied with this problem that they did not go as far in their mothering of planks or enjoyment of the educational features of conventioning as their Democratic sisters.

#### FEMININE LEADERS AT CHICAGO

In some ways the women were more in evidence in Chicago than in San Francisco. Several of the candidates for the nomination had separate and elaborate headquarters for the ladies. Women lined the corridors of the Congress Hotel, handing out feathers, apples and fans. It was all that many women could do. But there were women in Chicago who were in the inner councils. Among them I recall Harriet Vitum, indefatigable in her support of General Wood; Mrs. Dobyn, equally energetic for Governor Lowden, and Mrs. Raymond Robins, devoted to the cause of Johnson. I shall always treasure the picture I have of the high-minded women at the Hoover headquarters trying, under the leadership of Mrs. James Morrison and Gertrude B. Lane, to realize a political ideal. Of all the headquarters in both conventions, there I saw men and women working together more completely as they should and as they do if more intent upon the outcome than the method.

But no account of women at a convention is complete that neglects to mention Antoinette Funk's management of the McAdoo campaign. I suppose there were men on the job, and I even suspect that a man was in charge of the job, but there was no indication in Mrs. Funk's manner or actions that she was an understudy. She divided honors with Judge Moore of Ohio as a campaign manager.

I was greatly impressed with the

availability of the women leaders. I made no effort to approach either Mr. Hays or Mr. Cummings. Perhaps a mere henchman or a free-lance writer could have sauntered in upon their deliberations and been treated to a thoughtful statement of their position upon the issues as easily as I made my way to Mrs. Bass and to Mrs. South, leaders respectively of the Democratic and Republican women, and secured from them interviews, not one but many, on the women at the conventions.

Just as women seemed to take their places in the convention as a matter of course, whatever the place accorded them, so these leaders seemed to take their leadership as a matter of course. It seemed in nowise to differentiate them from the mass of women. In this I read a good omen. William Allen White tells us that the parties are ossifying and need an influx of blood from the people to make them once more akin to the people. Perhaps this new

blood is to be brought into the parties by these very women, who, entering into the executive places of the parties, yet retain their touch with the great mass of womankind.

After all, the women at these conventions have merely shown us what we should have expected. We should have known that the American man would yield, when he did yield, gracefully; that he would accept his womanfolk in politics as in other things as a matter of course. We should also have known that women would accept their acceptance as a matter of course, that they would go slowly, seeking to gain experience and knowledge as they went. And, above all, we should have known that in politics, as in life, women would agree with the men on most things, exacting in return that the men should agree with them on those things in which they felt most strongly.

[For article on woman suffrage amendment see Page 138.]

## Obstacles Faced by the League of Nations

Illuminating Study by M. Seignobos

PROFESSOR CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, the French historian, writing in *The New Europe*, enumerates seven main obstacles that must be overcome before the League of Nations can hope to attain the purpose for which it was created. One of these obstacles—the situation in Russia—he eliminated from consideration as a factor which could not yet be estimated. The six others may be summarized as follows:

1. The absolutism of the allied Governments themselves, which clearly showed from the beginning of a technical state of peace that they had no intention of relinquishing their absolute power over either their internal or their external affairs in favor of a super-Government.
2. The unmistakable purpose of the American Senate not to permit America's entrance into European affairs.
3. The strong feeling of insecurity in France regarding the danger of a reconstructed Germany.
4. The survival of the Prussian and

imperialistic spirit in the new nominal German Republic.

5. The bad economic settlement embodied in the Versailles Treaty, admittedly bad when judged wholly by economic standards, as was done by Mr. Keynes in his recent documentary study of the treaty, but wholly understandable when considered in the light of the devastation by Germany of France's most prosperous and productive areas, and of the strong contrast presented by the immunity which German industrial life enjoyed throughout the war.

6. The bad military settlement in the treaty, due to the failure of the conference to disarm the Germans effectively, by suppressing their whole army, including the General Staff, and allowing them nothing but police forces. By allowing the Prussian officers' corps to direct the operations of the police force against the German Communists they were given the chance of regaining so much influence over the Government, and so much prestige in the eyes of the public, that they are now once more the masters. The former Socialist Minister of War, Noske, he charges, was merely an instrument in their hands,

and already had the cadres ready which were to be filled by armed contingents disguised under a variety of names, and thus reconstituted into a formidable army.

All these obstacles, says M. Seignobos, are interconnected; they form a sort of barricade right across the path of the League of Nations. But the League is not still-born, as the adherents of military tradition would have us believe. It is as yet only a permanent alliance of former belligerents, but it is so constituted as to be capable of enlargement into a real League of All the Nations. He then sums up as follows the grounds for hoping that this transformation may be achieved:

1. The territorial settlement of Europe, which is the most reasonable part of the work of the conference, establishes between the various States a new balance, more favorable to international peace. It reduces the number of the great powers, which are always more disposed to disturb the peace, less resigned to the limitation of their sovereignty by obligations of international morality; while the three fallen powers are just the three military monarchies, those most hostile to peaceful order. It creates four States of medium strength—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania—strong enough to form a barrier against the old aggressive empires, but not strong enough to pursue an aggressive policy themselves.

2. The League is open to the neutrals of Europe and America, and nearly all have already entered. These are all medium-sized or small States, democratic in constitution and pacific in policy. They bring with them the desire to make the League universal and will introduce a current of international opinion such as will tone down national egoism.

3. The League has received from the conference several effective functions—notably the administration of mixed territories—the State of Danzig, the State of the Sarre (with Fiume and the Straits to follow); the control over the rights of minorities; the supervision of extra-European territory disposed of under a mandate. These functions have brought and will bring into being organs that will serve as precedents for the creation of other international organs.

4. The League has received several international powers—the right of inviting States to revise the treaties, the right of urging upon them the reduction of armaments, the right of holding them to the acceptance of arbitration in cases of dis-

pute. These are as yet merely moral powers without "sanction," but they can exercise an irresistible pressure on the various Governments when once they have the backing of a strong international public opinion.

5. The League has created and already set in motion a permanent international organ—the Secretariat—an office for the registration of all international treaties, designed to become a centre of information for all facts of international character and the instrument of concentration for all international services. The Secretariat, provided with a permanent international staff, will be a centre where international public opinion will form, and whence it will permeate to the Governments.

6. The League has created an International Labor Commission, which has already prepared international legislation on conditions of work and constituted the International Labor Bureau. These organs place those in power in each country in personal contact with the leaders of the working class, the class most opposed to war, most eager for complete disarmament and lasting peace. In proportion as labor extends its power in the internal politics of the various States it will give added force to the League of Nations to assume direction of world policy.

7. The Governments, out of fear of limiting their sovereignty, would not permit the creation of any international power—neither legislature nor judicature, nor even army; they merely formed an executive, consisting solely of representatives of the Governments. But those in power, instead of being represented according to the traditional method by members of the diplomatic bureaucracy, will be present in person at the deliberations of the executive. The International Council will be formed by the heads of Governments belonging to the League, just as the British Imperial Conference is composed of the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions. Thus, the insularity which makes the British incapable of adapting themselves to the institutions of other peoples will have rendered a great service to the League of Nations by endowing it with a directive organ far more democratic than the conference of professional diplomats.

The conclusion reached by M. Seignobos is that, though the path which leads to the League of Nations is still encumbered by obstacles, it has been clearly marked out, and that if the nations once set forth upon it they will in time reach the goal of their desires.

# SCIENCE AND DISCOVERY

## America's First Radio Pilot Cable and How It Guides Vessels Through Fog and Darkness

**A** CAPTURED idea is the greatest prize of war. New York Harbor is the first place in the New World to profit by the British Navy's discovery of the secret device used by the Germans to guide their ships through the mine-sown waters about Heligoland, in darkness, fog and violent currents. Their idea was to steer by ear, rather than by eye, making use of the scientific fact that an electrified cable laid at the bottom of a harbor channel, even though insulated, sends out magnetic waves which can be heard by wireless telephone receivers on a ship at the surface within 500 feet of it at any point. With a large receiving coil, like a four-foot ear, placed at each side of the vessel, and with a telephone wire from each coil to the corresponding human ear of the steersman on the ship, the buzzing of the electric cable can be followed in midnight darkness or the thickest fog as easily as a traveler in a New York subway station "follows the green line." If the buzzing in both ears is equally loud the steersman knows he is over the cable and safe in the middle of the

channel. If the sound in the right ear grows dim he knows he is getting off the cable on that side and must steer a little more to the left, or be in danger of running his craft into shallow water.

During the war the British learned this secret and used such cables and wireless receivers in the English Channel and elsewhere. Since the armistice they have installed two of these pilot cables, as they are now called, at Portsmouth—one for inbound shipping and one for outbound. A year ago electrical experts of the United States Navy made extended experiments with the new system, installing a cable in the Thames River at New London, Conn., until they had reached a stage of success which made it advisable to transfer the work to the larger field in New York Harbor. With the improvements already worked out on this side of the Atlantic a recent official naval report pronounced the radio piloting cable "one of the greatest aids to navigation ever devised." The final tests of the instruments, preparatory to putting the device into operation at New York, were being made when these pages went to press.

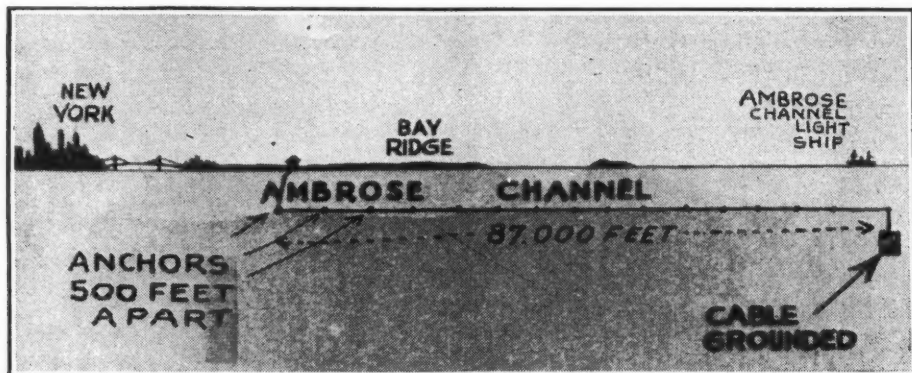


DIAGRAM OF THE COURSE FOLLOWED BY THE AMBROSE CHANNEL CABLE, USED TO GUIDE SHIPS INTO NEW YORK HARBOR BY WIRELESS TELEPHONE IN FOG OR DARKNESS

(© Pathe News)



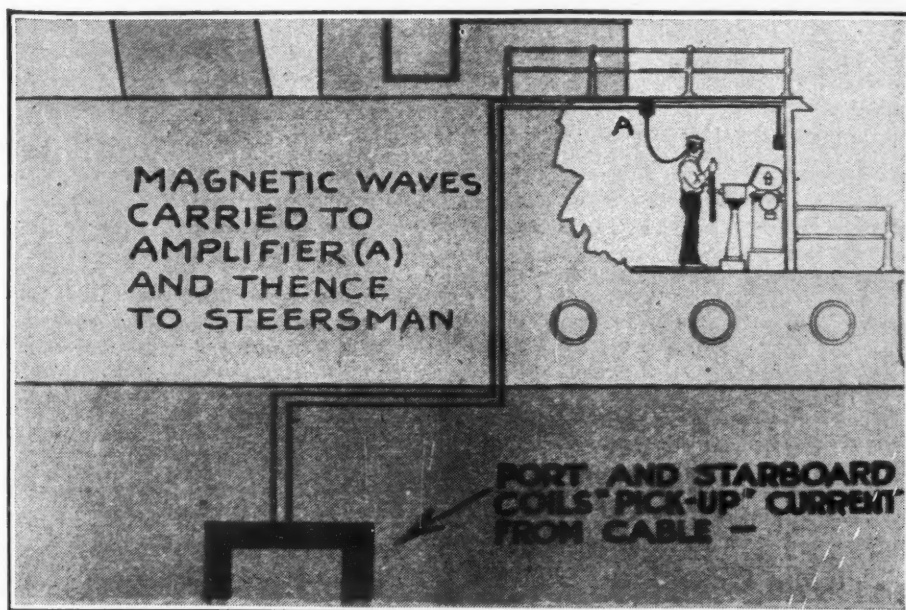
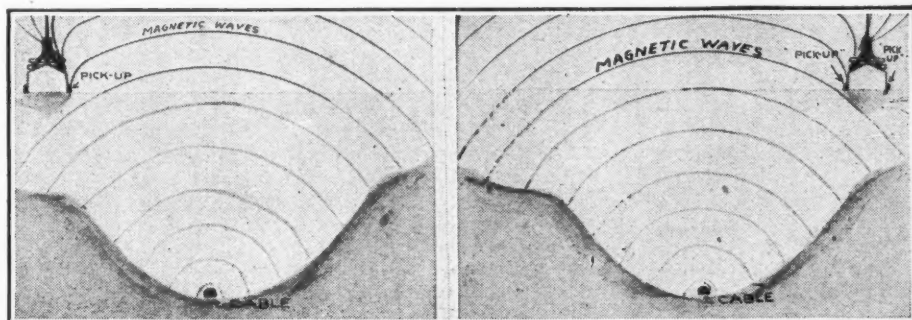


DIAGRAM SHOWING SECTION OF SHIP WITH COILS THAT PICK UP THE MAGNETIC WAVES AND TRANSMIT THE SOUND THROUGH AMPLIFIERS TO THE EARS OF THE STEERSMAN

(© Pathe News)

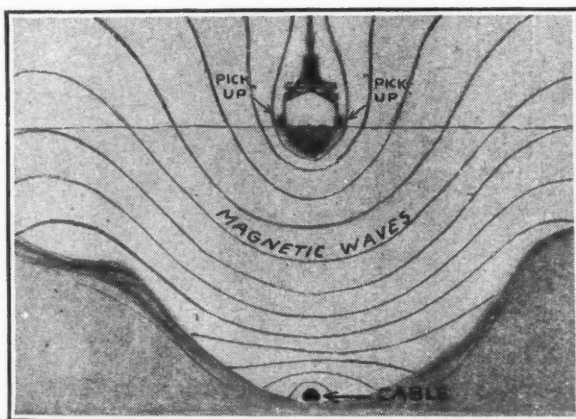
The cable in New York Harbor has its shore end at Fort Hamilton, and follows the Ambrose Channel to Ambrose Lightship, where incoming vessels will first "pick up" its waves. Its length is about 87,000 feet, or 16½ miles, and its thickness is approximately one inch. It consists of seven strands of tinned copper wire. This is insulated

with a three-sixteenth-inch layer of 30 per cent. Para rubber, which, in turn, is wrapped in a layer of tape and jute impregnated with a waterproof insulating compound. An armor of galvanized steel wire enwraps this layer. Two anchors secure the outer end of the cable, and anchors are placed at 500-foot intervals along its length.



IN THE LEFT-HAND DIAGRAM THE STEERSMAN (SAILING AWAY FROM THE READER) RECEIVES THE SOUND WAVES PRACTICALLY ALL IN THE RIGHT EAR, INDICATING THAT HE MUST STEER TO STARBOARD IN ORDER TO GET ABOVE THE CABLE AGAIN. IN THE RIGHT-HAND DIAGRAM THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE. HE MUST SHIFT HIS COURSE TO THE PORT SIDE UNTIL HE HEARS THE WAVES IN BOTH EARS ALIKE

(© Pathe News)



HERE THE SHIP'S KEEL IS OVER THE CABLE AND THE CONDITIONS ARE EXACTLY AS THEY SHOULD BE. THE SOUND WAVES ARE EQUALLY PLAIN FROM BOTH SIDES

(© Pathe News)

From the shore station a one-kilowatt motor generator transmits through the cable a 500-cycle alternating current, the voltage being about 220. The motor generator set is driven by current from a local source, so that a constant speed can be kept; otherwise a fluctuation of speed would vary the sound-waves and cause confusion on board. The amount of current thus controlled ranges between one and eight amperes. A telegraph key is used to break the cable current and transmit signals, an automatic sending apparatus repeating signals as necessary. An incoming ship picks up the buzzing of the cable at the outer end, somewhere outside the submarine bell, after sighting the lightship.

The receiving apparatus is simple. Flush with the outside of the ship, below the waterline on both port and starboard sides, about amidships, is a tuning-coil on the principle of a loop-antenna. Each coil is four feet square and wound with 400 turns of copper magnet wire, and both coils must have the same resistance and inductance values. To protect them from abrasion they are impregnated in paraffin and placed in wooden boxes.

In using the cable the object is simply to keep the ship "astride" of it all

the way into port. The responsibility of the pilot is largely put upon the steersman at the wheel, along with the telephone head-set that he wears. As soon as he gets within range of the electro-magnetic waves from the cable, the current is picked up by either his port or starboard tuning-coil or by both. The sound-waves pass through amplifiers to the steersman's listening ears, and he notes from which side the buzzing is the louder. Thus guided, he shifts his rudder in that direction, steering confidently through darkness or fog, or both, until he hears the sounds equally well from both sides. Then he knows he has his keel parallel with the cable below and is on his way to a safe anchorage.

## Duralumin, the Airplane Metal

Two all-metal monoplanes recently made the first transcontinental air flight carrying United States mail, and one of them, the JL-6, easily completed the round trip back from Los Angeles to New York. This event has aroused considerable interest in the particular kind of metal used in the manufacture of these planes. It appears that duralumin, the metal used, was first manufactured in Germany during the war and was used in the construction of a monoplane

called the Junker. Duralumin is composed of:

	P. C.	P. C.
Aluminum .....	95.5	to 93.2
Magnesium .....	..	.5
Copper .....	3.5	to 5.5
Manganese .....	.5	to .8

Duralumin has the same strength and other properties as mild steel, but only one-third the weight. It melts at 650 degrees Centigrade, can be worked like other metals, and can be tempered, like steel, by heating and cooling. A

rise in the temperature of 100 degrees reduces the strength of duralumin 10 per cent. As the temperature lowers, however, it gains strength, and this makes it a valuable airplane metal.

Extensive experiments with duralumin were made by the Germans. These experiments were recorded, and have just been translated into English at Washington by the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics.

Metal monoplanes made of duralumin are remarkable machines. There are no exposed wires, struts or braces. All such parts are enclosed in the wings. This reduces the head or air resistance, and greater speed can be developed with less power. The metal monoplanes made of duralumin now flying in this country

are Junker machines, or modifications of the Junker, like the Larsen machines. These all-metal monoplanes with one engine of 160 horsepower, consuming a comparatively small amount of gasoline, can carry eight passengers. A similar passenger machine manufactured in this country requires three times as much horsepower.

Experiments made at one air station raise some doubt as to the lasting qualities of duralumin, especially when not covered with paint or some other preservative. A machine was "knocked down" and the duralumin parts which had not been painted appeared to corrode very rapidly. Experience with the metal, however, will soon demonstrate whether or not this is a vital weakness.

## Sky Voyages of Discovery

What would have become of the old Spanish caravels on their voyages of discovery if they had had to weather a hurricane blowing 120 miles an hour? Yet such an adventure is all in a day's work of the aeronauts who have begun to discover the geography of the upper air. The physics and chemistry of the atmosphere were understood long before the days of aviation; but the fact that the atmosphere possesses a geographic character has transpired only in the recent progress of aeronautics.

Pathfinders of the air sense the aerographic features without seeing them. They have layers upon layers of air to explore and study before airships can travel in safety. Transcontinental and transoceanic routes have to be located with regard to currents mightier than any earthly rivers, and of torrential swiftness. Vast stagnant pools and areas of calm have to be mapped, like the Sargasso Seas that Columbus discovered to his great inconvenience. Then there are whirlpools, choppy seas and regions of great violence to be located that they may be shunned, and the difficulties of such exploration are not lessened by the fact that they have to be carried on in three dimensions. At certain levels there are pitfalls in the form of "pockets" of rarified air. Man flies

mainly in the cloud levels, so it is necessary to know at what altitudes over each terrestrial region his course will be safe above thunderstorms.

Many of the upper air currents are as trade winds, and the altitudes have to be sought in each region where the winds are prevailingly favorable. Knowing what altitudes to choose, an aviator can often obtain a favoring wind throughout a round trip. Avoiding the increasing resistance to be encountered in beating against a high wind, the daring aviator vaults over mountains and over clouds, often seeking levels where the air current increases to thirty or forty meters a second, and he runs these aerial rapids at a rate of 200 miles an hour.

Temperature, too, varies with altitude almost irrespective of clime and season, and presents a constant problem in choosing the right areas, zones and levels in the quest for such an aerial Northwest Passage as was sought in the recent United States Army flight from New York to Nome, or the new Vasco da Gama feat in the Cairo-to-Cape flight. One British aviator in Africa got a carburetor frozen at an altitude of 7,000 feet. Above the cloud levels the aerographic studies must be made with balloons as well as airships. The greatest aerographic discovery yet made is that



the atmosphere consists of two layers. In the lower of these, called the troposphere, extending from sea level to an altitude of 10,000 meters, the temperature steadily falls with increase of elevation. Above this, through the upper layer, called the stratosphere, there is a slight rise of temperature up to 20,000

meters. For explorations of the stratosphere a sounding balloon is needed, carrying light recording instruments. At the top of the troposphere the steady upward decrease in atmospheric density reaches one-third that at the earth's surface. There are no clouds above this altitude.

## First Wireless Message Around the World

The new Lafayette Radio Station at Bordeaux, France, the greatest and most powerful in the world, while undergoing acceptance tests for the French Government, Aug. 21, 1920, succeeded in sending practically around the earth the following radiogram:

This is the first wireless message to be heard around the world and marks a milestone on the road of scientific achievement.

The message was received by Secretary of the Navy Daniels at Washington, who sent back his congratulations in reply. The newly completed station is the creation of the United States Navy Department, under the direction of the Bureau of Engineering and the Bureau of Docks and Yards. The building of it began during the war to main-

tain wireless communication between this country and the American Expeditionary Force in France, lest the German submarines should cut the transoceanic cables.

The antennae are borne on eight metal towers 240 meters high and cover an area one kilometer and a half long by 400 meters wide. Each tower, which is supported on three legs, weighs 550 tons, one-fourth of the weight of the Eiffel Tower. The station uses an alternating current of 11,000 volts, with a frequency of fifty cycles, which can develop Hertzian waves 23,000 meters long. The distance at which a message can be picked up is estimated at 12,000 miles, so that, radiating east and west, the message practically "meets itself" half way around the earth.

## Curing Cancer With Radium

The official announcement, in August, that the State of New York had purchased two grams and a quarter of radium for the free treatment, beginning Oct. 15, of cancer and allied malignant diseases, and that this tiny amount of the rare and superprecious metal is enough to treat 2,000,000 patients thus afflicted, is proof of an actual, wonder-working talisman that transcends those of romantic legend. It seems so few years ago that radium was discovered, and so recently that it was only a laboratory curiosity, that its large scale application to check the ravages of cancer, which sweep away 90,000 human lives a year, marks a new scientific era. The first purchase of radium by a State is expected to be the forerunner of similar purchases for the

same purpose by other States. Eight thousand of the yearly deaths by cancer are in New York State, in which cancer has received free treatment since 1887, especially at the Memorial Hospital in New York City for the Treatment of Cancer and Allied Diseases. Its medical staff, under an affiliation with the Cornell Medical School, has studied continuously the application of radium to the cure of cancer since 1912. In 1917 it received a donation of radium in excess of three grams, of a value of over \$300,000, from the late Dr. James Douglass, mining engineer and metallurgist; and later half a gram of radium from the United States Government through the Bureau of Mines, to be used for the treatment of American soldiers and sailors. Under



the conditions of these gifts, amounting to the largest deposit of radium in any public medical institution in the world, the poor are treated on liberal terms and, when advisable, gratuitously. Free clinics have been held daily there, except Sunday, for six years. Applied to cancer in its early stages, radium has proved an effective cure, and is of value even in aggravated cases, especially with surgery.

The life of radium is estimated at from 2,000 to 3,200 years, after which it is transmuted, like the fabled philosopher's stone, or elixir of life, through helium and various baser metals, finally becoming lead. Scientists believe that possibly the uranium with which radium is always found is one of these transmutations. Radium gives off its energy in three rays of varying intensity, called alpha, beta and gamma rays. These three rays together make the sky-blue luminosity of the radium flame. These Becquerel rays from radium strongly resemble the Roentgen X-rays, but are distinct. The alpha rays have comparatively little penetrative power, and are slightly bent by the strongest magnetic forces obtainable (compare Einstein's "warp in space"). The beta rays have great penetrative power and are easily bent by weak magnetic forces in a direction opposite to that of the alpha rays. The gamma rays cannot be bent by even the strongest magnetic forces and can penetrate the most opaque substances, even a solid foot of chilled steel, or seven to eight centimeters of lead.

It is the gamma ray that is applied to the cancerous growths. The beta rays burn and have to be screened off. The alpha rays are harmless. The gamma rays destroy diseased tissue before they will attack sound tissue. It is impossible to handle radium to any extent without getting badly burned, and it burns so clean as to leave no healing material. Radium has to be kept in vials made of lead or of material like that of crucibles. In aggravated cases it is applied with a gold needle. Unless the growth is deepseated, it is applied by the emanation system in gases of radium sulphide or radium bromide. These

emanations can be combined so that all the radium in an institution can be brought to bear on a single case when necessary.

When Mme. Sklodowski Curie discovered radium, its only known source was pitchblende, found mostly in Bohemia and Silesia. Even in pitchblende radium is less than 1 ten-millionth per cent., "rarer than gold in sea water," as Professor Robert Kennedy Duncan put it, and it was not isolated until 1912. Its commercialization and application as a cure for cancer and allied malignant diseases, supposed to be incurable, have only been a gradual development since the beginning of the war.

If radium were worth no more than its weight in gold it could never have been commercialized; gold being worth only \$20.57 an ounce, while radium is quoted as high as \$3,402,000 an ounce. Duncan stated in his "New Knowledge" (1906) that, considering the cost of pitchblende, the value of radium would be at least \$10,000 a gram, there being little more than a gram extant at that time. Now its market value is \$120,000 a gram, there being 28.35 grams in an ounce. So the recent purchase by the State of New York of two grams and a quarter for \$225,000, for use in the treatment of cancer, was considered a bargain. There is not yet an ounce of radium extant. Most of it is produced in America, there being about seven grams in use in medical institutions of New York State, besides the 2.25 grams recently bought for the State Institution for the Study of Malignant Diseases at Buffalo.

The discovery, about a year before the war, of radium in combination with the uranium in carnotite gave this country the monopoly in the production of the invaluable element. The uranium, in which all radium occurs, is present in much larger quantities (about 2 per cent.) in the carnotite pockets of Colorado, especially in Paradox Valley, than in the pitchblende deposits of Europe. Vanadium, an important alloy of steel, also forms a large proportion of the Colorado carnotite, and is saved as a byproduct by the radium mining com-

pany operating in Paradox Valley. The ore is freighted with string-teams of mules from the valley fifty-seven miles to the railroad and shipped to East Orange, N. J., for reduction. There the uranium and vanadium are extracted from the carnotite, and the radium from

the uranium, which then goes to the dump. From 450 tons, or 408,240,000 grams, of carnotite were extracted the 2.25 grams of radium sold to the State of New York.

#### MINE RESCUES WITH GAS MASKS

The present large-scale manufacture of gas masks for reducing the risks assumed by workers in dangerous industries results from the work of the Industrial Gas Laboratory of the United States Bureau of Mines. Already the bureau has trained 50,000 men in rescue and first-aid work, and many of their rescues could not be made without gas masks.

An explosion in a mine near Terre Haute, Ind., killed a man, and four men entering to take out the body were overcome by gas. After they had been in the after-damp about forty-five minutes a rescue party of four miners reached them. With the protection of their gas masks, these rescuers built temporary curtains to restore circulation of air to the part of the mine where the other four men had gone and saved two of them. At other accidents rescuers wearing gas masks have carried a life-line down through a gas-filled part of the mine.

Other peace-time uses of the gas mask are: to protect against acid fumes and ammonia in factories; to protect painters working in the bins of storage warehouses; to protect locomotive engineers from engine smoke in railroad tunnels; to protect firemen in rescue work.



MME. SKŁODOWSKY CURIE

*Who, with her late husband, discovered radium, and who has now found a new method of using it*

*(Times Wide World Photos)*

## A Month in the United States

### Army and Navy Activities, Labor Unrest, Social Problems and Financial Conditions

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1920]

**A**LL peace-time records for army recruiting were broken in August, according to a statement issued on Sept. 5 by Adj. General Harris, showing enlistments for the month to have reached 19,242; July enlistments, which were slightly larger than the num-

mer in June, were 15,281. The latter figure represents more than three-fourths of a full peace strength fighting division. The full strength of the regular army on Aug. 28 was 202,537, of whom 15,045 were officers. In the Marine Corps 10,307 men were recruited

in the twelve months ended Aug. 15. Of these, 2,000 were veterans who liked the service so well that they re-enlisted. The American-born in the corps totaled 94 per cent. The percentage of desertions was only 1.86.

In the United States proper there were 153,325 officers and men of the regular establishment. There were 19,472 in the Philippines, 15,232 in Germany, 4,989 in Hawaii, 4,337 in the Panama Canal Zone, 1,567 in Porto Rico, 1,502 in China and 891 in Alaska. The remainder of less than 2,000 men were in France or England, or at sea en route home or to stations in the Philippines or to other American insular possessions.

#### COLLEGE EDUCATION BONUS

A bonus in the form of a college education at the expense of the State was offered to war veterans of Wisconsin by the passage of the Wisconsin Educational bill. This provides that soldiers, sailors, marines and Red Cross nurses, who entered the service before Nov. 1, 1918, whose services terminated under honorable conditions, who were residents of the State at the time of service, and who served at least three months, shall be eligible to the bonus. More than 4,000 young soldiers have already taken advantage of the opportunity offered, and 10,000 signified their desire to attend some educational institution. All those eligible may enter the normal schools, the University of Wisconsin, or any private college that maintained a student army training corps; they can remain for a period not to exceed four years, during which the State will pay them \$30 a month.

#### NAVAL EXPANSION

It was announced by the Navy Department on Aug. 25 that the dreadnought tonnage of the United States Navy in 1923 would be 1,150,000 tons. Of the units in this fleet, sixteen will be battleships mounting the new 16-inch guns perfected by the ordnance experts of the American service. There are now nineteen ships of the dreadnought type in commission, and in 1923 this fleet will have been increased to thirty-five ships, or seven divisions of five units each. In

addition to the ships referred to, the navy in 1923 will have well under way and nearly ready for commission six giant battle cruisers, each of 43,000 tons displacement, while ten new light cruisers, among the speediest afloat, are expected to be added before the end of that year. The American ships under construction will be faster than the English types, and their armor will be on an average two inches thicker.

#### SUBMARINE SINKING

A sea tragedy was barely averted by the rescue of the crew of the United States submarine S-5, which on Sept. 1 was flooded internally with sea water when trying to submerge about fifty-five miles off Cape Henlopen. As the boat went down it was seen that something was wrong, as the bow was sink-

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

#### THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT



—Brooklyn Eagle

ing faster than the stern. Inspection showed that the air induction had failed to work and that one of the sea valves had not closed. Chlorine gas, generated from the sea salt by the flooded batteries, began to spread through the boat, and the men were forced to don masks. Fortunately the stern remained out of water, and after prolonged effort a hole was bored through this that admitted air and also permitted a pole to be run out on which was a signal of distress. This was seen by the steamer *Alanthus*, which summoned other ships by wireless. The army transport *General Goethals* came to the rescue, and the chief engineer of the latter, by Herculean efforts, succeeded in making a large hole in the stern, through which the crew, twenty-seven men in all, were finally drawn out. They were landed safely in Philadelphia. The submarine, when released from the chains that had held it while the rescue was going on, sank beneath the surface. The commander's report showed that perfect discipline had been maintained during the whole period of imprisonment, which lasted forty-three hours.

#### TRANSCONTINENTAL AIR MAIL

The army aviators who left Mineola, L. I., on July 21 reached Nome, Alaska, on Aug. 23. The actual flying time had been fifty-five hours. Part of the trip covered territory never before flown over, and included extremely difficult flying over the Canadian Rockies. The expedition carried copies of the *New York Times* of July 15. The trip demonstrated the feasibility of establishing mail, express and passenger communication with Alaska by air. Throughout the flight from New York the aviators had been taking on mail, and as they sailed over the landing field at Nome they dropped their packages with streamers attached and thus delivered the first aerial mail in Alaska.

A through air mail service both ways between New York and San Francisco was inaugurated by the Post Office Department Sept. 8. It was believed that under favorable conditions the new service would reduce the transit time of

mails between the Atlantic and the Pacific in Winter from ninety-one to fifty-seven hours and in Summer from ninety-one to fifty-four hours. The flight route mapped out by the Post Office Department was 2,651 miles. The planes were to be of the De Havilland-4 type and equipped with 400-horse power Liberty motors. The first plane in the service left Mineola, L. I., at 6:41 Sept. 8 and reached San Francisco at 2:33 on Sept. 11. It carried 16,000 letters. The last lap of the trip was made at the rate of 125 miles an hour.

A contract was signed by Postmaster General Burleson Aug. 28 providing for a seaplane mail service between the United States and Cuba, the mail to be transported by rail to Key West, thence by seaplane to the Cuban capital. This is the first air mail contract made by the United States under the authority of the law providing that the Postmaster General may contract to send foreign mail by seaplane. The mail is to be carried in an F-5-L flying boat, equipped to carry twelve passengers and also freight, and propelled by two Liberty motors.

#### RAILROAD COSTS

It was estimated by the Bureau of Railway Economics on Aug. 30 that the earnings of the railroads had fallen \$600,000,000 below their standard return for the six months beginning March 1. This loss falls upon the Government, which had guaranteed the railroad earnings for that period. The carriers will be allowed further aid from the Government only through loans from the revolving fund. Fewer than ten lines have produced revenue sufficient to equal actual operating expenses, which does not include the fixed charges of interest, taxes and dividends. Of the 1,194 lines of consequence in the country, 667 have accepted the Government's proposal for a division of the surplus above the standard return and a guarantee of earnings should the revenue fall short. All those accepting the proposal will be entitled to a final adjustment of accounts by the Treasury, and the payment, where the revenues were low, of guaranteed amounts.



## HARD COAL WAGE AWARD

President Wilson on Aug. 30 approved the majority report of the Anthracite Wage Commission, which awarded from 17 to 20 per cent. over their previous pay to men employed in the anthracite coal mines. Replying to the ultimatum sent him the preceding day by 300 delegates representing locals in District 1, United Mine Workers of America, demanding that he accept the minority report within three days under threat of a strike, he informed them that he could not and would not set aside the judgment of the commission, and that their challenge would be accepted. He called their attention to the fact that a convention representing the locals of the anthracite workers had agreed to accept the findings of the commission as final, and added that they themselves would protest were he to set aside the award at the request of the operators. He pointed out that the minority report submitted by their representative, while setting forth his view on conditions, had assured the President that the majority report would be accepted by the officers and men of the United Mine Workers as binding on them.

Despite this message of the President and the fact that their own Scale Committee accepted the award and signed contracts on that basis with the operators, a large number of "insurgents" continued to demand the adoption of the minority report (which had awarded them 31 per cent.) and, to enforce their demands, ceased work under guise of a "vacation." The movement spread with great rapidity in the anthracite field. Of the 175,000 workers in Districts 1, 7 and 9, about 125,000 walked out, causing a loss of about 300,000 tons of coal and \$625,000 in wages for a single day. Appeals were again made to the President to reopen the question of the wage award, but on Sept. 10 he sent a telegram to the Scranton leaders definitely refusing to do so, and adding:

Our people have fought a great war and made untold sacrifices to insure among other things that a solemn agreement shall not be considered as a mere scrap of paper. We have declined to enter into friendly relations with Govern-

ments that boast of their readiness to violate treaties whenever it suits their own convenience, and under these circumstances we could not look the world in the face or justify our action to our own people and our own conscience if we yielded one iota to the men in the anthracite coal fields who are violating the contract so recently entered into between themselves, the coal operators and the Government of the United States.

A report issued by the Geological Survey on Sept. 5 showed that the coal output thus far for 1920 had been greater than that for the corresponding period of 1919. For the 205 working days of 1920, the production of bituminous coal had reached 347,406,000 tons, which was 29,693,000 tons more than was mined in the same period last year. For the calendar year to date the hard coal mined was 57,512,000 tons, as compared with 55,712,000 tons mined in the same period in 1919.

Other features of labor unrest were strikes involving 20,000 men in the plumbing, painting and van moving trades in New York City, and the serious strike on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit surface, subway, and elevated lines. The latter was called by the Amalgamated Association, representing the motormen and conductors, because an arbitration award increasing their pay was rejected by Federal Judge Mayer, under whose jurisdiction the lines were being operated. Efforts to reach a satisfactory agreement were unavailing, and the strike went into operation on Aug. 29, completely tying up for a time the transportation system of Brooklyn. Disorder, arson and sabotage accompanied the strike, which was kept under control only by the firm action of the police authorities. Strikebreakers were imported in large numbers, and after a week of rioting a considerable proportion of former employees returned to work. By Sept. 15 the company was operating an increasing number of cars and promised soon to resume full service.

## RISE IN LIVING COSTS

Detailed statistics on the tremendous increase in the cost of living from December, 1914, to June, 1920, showing increases of from 110 to 136 per cent. in

every article of necessity, were made public Aug. 10 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

The articles considered as necessities in the compilation of costs were food, clothing, housing, fuel, light, furniture, furnishings and miscellaneous. Cities selected as representative of the various sections were New York, Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, Boston, Norfolk, Philadelphia, Seattle, Denver and Scranton, Pa.

The total average increase in New York during the five years and six months ending June 30, 1920, was 119.2, with an increase from 103.31 to 119.2, or over 16 per cent., in the first six months of 1920. Total average increases on individual articles in the last five and a half years were as follows: Food, 105.3; male clothing, 220.8; female clothing, 258.8; housing, 32.4; fuel and light, 60.1; furniture and furnishings, 205.1; miscellaneous, 111.9.

Detroit showed the largest increase of all cities. The total average increase there was 136 per cent., with male clothing leading all the items. Men's clothing in Detroit jumped from 203.53 per cent. increase in December, 1919, to 235.1 per cent. in June, 1920, as compared with an increase of from 163.16 in December, 1919, to 186.1 in June, 1920, for women's clothing.

#### HARVESTER COMPANY ACCUSED

The Federal Trade Commission, in a report made public Sept. 6, recommended the reopening of anti-trust proceedings against the International Harvester Company, and the institution of judicial proceedings against implement dealers and manufacturers. The commission declared that its investigation, which was ordered by the Senate, disclosed that in the period between 1914 and 1918 prices paid by farmers for implements advanced 73 per cent., with the greater part of the increase coming in 1917 and 1918. This increase, the commission asserted, was larger than warranted by the advances in the costs and expenses of the manufacturers and dealers, and resulted in unusually large and indefensible profits. The commission declared that it was necessary to separate

the McCormick and Deering plants and brands, because, according to judicial decision, they had been illegally combined in 1902, and because it was these concerns that had given the International Harvester Company its dominating position in the industry and made effective competition by other manufacturers illusory.

#### EXPLOSION IN WALL STREET

A time bomb or infernal machine hidden in a one-horse dray exploded at 12:01 noon at the corner of Broad and Wall Streets, New York City, on Sept. 16, causing the death of thirty-five persons and injuring over 300 others. The explosion occurred while the wagon was standing in front of the United States Assay Office on Wall Street, just opposite the banking house of J. P. Morgan & Co. and a few yards from the United States Sub-Treasury. It shattered windows for blocks around and hurled fragments of iron sashweights and other deadly slugs through the entire neighborhood, causing enormous damage.

The entire financial district was thrown into a panic. Within a few seconds the Stock Exchange was closed, as well as the Curb Market and other Exchanges. So widespread was the dismay over the atrocity that Exchanges were closed also in Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities.

The force of the explosion was so tremendous that it is believed there were fully 200 pounds of trinitrotoluol, popularly known as TNT, in the container. The blast tore a hole in Wall Street, where the wagon was standing, but its great force was upward and outward. Great iron grilles and doors were wrenched from the Morgan building, and iron gratings protecting the cages of tellers and clerks were twisted as though they were wax. Metal window frames were torn loose and the vaulted dome of the building was so shaken that it was at first feared it would fall. The Sub-Treasury and the Assay Office were pitted by the flying missiles. The solid business structures throughout that vicinity suffered from the blast; window casings were ripped out, heavy plate glass was shattered, and the walls were

scarred, but no structural damage was done. The streets were filled with debris and thickly strewn with the dead and injured. The horse and wagon were blown into bits.

No one prominent in financial circles was killed, though many had narrow escapes. Two clerks of the Morgan firm suffered death, but the victims in general were men and women of the wage-earning class, who at that time were proceeding to lunch or engaged in messenger or street services.

The United States Attorney General and the full force of the investigating branch of his department joined with the city and State authorities and insurance associations in the search for the perpetrators. The character of the missiles and all the attending circumstances definitely established the fact that it was a willful criminal act and not an accident; the authorities were united in the conclusion that it was the work of

anarchists; whether of a small group or of a national organization had not been established up to Sept. 20.

A peculiar feature in relation to the tragedy was the premonition or foreknowledge of E. P. Fischer, a former employe of the French High Commission. At different intervals three and four weeks before the explosion he sent cards and letters to friends warning them to keep away from Wall Street "between 2 and 3 o'clock Sept. 15 and Sept. 16," (the explosion occurred at noon Sept. 16). Fischer was in Toronto on that day and had been away for over a week. He was placed under arrest, and in explanation stated that he received the information by telepathy through "voices in the air." Some years previous Fischer had been in an insane asylum, and when he was brought to New York on Sept. 20 he was found to be suffering still from mental disorders and was sent to the psychopathic ward of Bellevue Hospital.

## CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS

*CURRENT HISTORY undertakes in this department to publish such open letters as it considers of general interest. No letter will be used without the name and address of the writer. On controversial questions it will be the aim to give all sides an equal chance at representation; CURRENT HISTORY, however, aiming to record events as nearly as possible without comment or bias, does not necessarily indorse opinions contained in these letters.*

### THE PROPER DESIGNATION OF SANTO DOMINGO

*To the Editor of Current History:*

I notice an error in the *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for September, which is common enough in other periodicals and in common usage. I refer to the name of the Dominican Republic, or Santo Domingo, which you print "San Domingo." San Domingo is an error, caused through confusion with supposed analogies with similar names in Spanish. It should be written Santo Domingo.

I refer to page 44, paragraph 122, of Ramsey's "Text Book of Modern Spanish," admitted by all to be the best authority on Spanish published in English. It there states that "the masculine singular, Santo, as the title of a holy man, is abbreviated to San unless the name of the saint begins with To- or Do. In all other forms and uses of the word it is left unabbreviated." This rule applies to the masculine form of the word and consequently does not affect the feminine form, Santa.

Likewise this rule applies to masculine

names of cities, which, being named after saints, naturally take the same form. Examples, San Francisco, San Juan (Puerto Rico), San Luis (St. Louis), &c.

Referring to the remark to paragraph 122, it states that there is one, and only one, exception to the rule. The island of St. Thomas, in the Virgin Islands, formerly the Danish West Indies and now belonging to the United States, is in Spanish San Tomàs, through deference to foreign usage. However, St. Thomas (the man) is named in Spanish Santo Tomàs.

If one is confused by this, even though it is simple, one may use the name "Dominican Republic," by which the Government often designates itself—in the Spanish form, Republica Dominicana.

W. L. BRADLEY.

209 Hill Street, Xenia, Ohio, Sept. 14, 1920.

### TWO NEWS LETTERS FROM ATHENS

*To the Editor of Current History:*

A political storm struck Athens yesterday [Aug. 14] when the news arrived that an



attempt had been made in the Gare de Lyon, Paris, to assassinate Venizelos. The psychological effect of such news on a mass of people is interesting, to say the least, and there was wonderful opportunity for the study of mob psychology in Athens.

Bulletins were placed on the prominent corners announcing the attempted assassination, about which great crowds were soon gathered. The feelings of anger and resentment were very manifest and it seemed necessary to find some way to give vent to these feelings.

There are several opposition (Royalist) newspapers in Athens and the mobs naturally turned their attention to these. Seven of these offices were dismantled; everything being burned or destroyed. There was very little noise about it and the police and guards hastily called out stood about apparently powerless to interfere. The Kotopouli Theatre, Dore Coffee House, a very popular place on University Street, and the private home of Mr. Skouloudis, at one time Prime Minister to the ex-King, were also raided and the furniture destroyed. George Dragoumis, at one time diplomat to Petrograd, a politician and son of a former Prime Minister to the ex-King, was killed while resisting arrest.

These events happened during the afternoon. About 7 o'clock in the evening great crowds of people were surging about the Metropolitan Church ready for the service of thanksgiving that the life of Venizelos had been saved. The huge church and the large square in front of it were packed with people and into this great throng came the young King Alexander in his automobile, wearing his military uniform. The crowd greeted him with long and loud cheers. What a strange position is his, being the third son of the deposed King. One thing is certain, he is quite popular and any discussion of his relationships would be out of place now.

Following the King came the various Ministers of the Government, the high army officials and the foreign representatives, each being received with loud cheers. Our American flag called forth loud cries of "Long Live America!"

The service over, Mr. Repoulis, Vice President, representing Venizelos in his absence, stood on the church steps and spoke to the vast crowd. "God, who has so long protected Greece, has also protected the savior of Greece, but you who love him so much, as all Hellenism adores him, have the obligation to respect the moments which he is now passing, so that no news of misconduct here may disturb him. You may be sure that the law will do its work quickly, as it should, and you must not forget that Greece must appear as a State in which laws prevail. What a painful impression will any misconduct on our part now make to our allies and to those who love Greece.

"Mr. Venizelos enlarged Greece as a well-governed State and as such he presented Greece to the Allies to get what he has obtained. As long, therefore, as you love Venizelos and your country, you must have confidence in the application of its laws."

During the first part of the speech many cries of "Death" were heard, but at the end all seemed to agree with the sentiments expressed; although I had heard many threats against the lives of the Royalists, yet the night passed quietly and today the storm seems to have spent itself.

The facts are established that the attempt on the life of Mr. Venizelos was part of a plan laid in Athens by the Royalists, and it was intended when the news came that he had been killed the cry would go out, "The tyrant is dead, and the Greeks are now free!" The Royalists look upon Venizelos as a usurper and a man who, with the help of the Allies, drove out their King and took control of their Government. It is very difficult for any one who knows Venizelos to regard him in this light, and it is also difficult to see why the Royalists should have a hope that the people of Greece would oppose his Government. To the onlooker it seems very apparent that a very great majority of the Greek people not only indorse the work of Venizelos, but consider him their country's savior and the liberator of the Greeks in Thrace and Asia Minor. It is quite evident that this dastardly attempt on his life has only won for him a larger place in the hearts of the Greek people.

H. A. HENDERSON.

Athens, Greece, Aug. 15, 1920.

## THE GREEKS IN THRACE

*To the Editor of Current History:*

Athens today [July 20] is jubilant over the announcement that the Greek soldiers have entered Adrianople. Bells from the many churches are ringing and the very foundations of old Mount Lycabettos are trembling under the reverberations of the cannon fired from her summit. Crowds have gathered in the streets and their "Zetos" are adding to the celebration. Zetos for the army, for the officers, for Venizelos and for the Greater Fatherland.

This evening about 6 o'clock the large square in front of the beautiful Metropolitan Church and in the very shadow of the old Acropolis began to fill with people. Companies of soldiers and sailors marched into the square and took their places in front of the church. Then came the high officials, civil, military and ecclesiastical—the civil in their formal dress, the military in their uniforms with their decorations of honor, and the ecclesiastical wearing their robes. The various nations were represented by their diplomats and military attachés. The church was crowded, and the Metropolitan of the city, assisted by many



ecclesiastics and by the beautiful music of the choir, offered up praise and thanks to Almighty God for the deliverance of their people who had been for so many centuries held in bondage by cruel masters.

The story of Adrianople dates back to a time long before Christ, when the city was known as Orestia, named after Orestes, a son of Agamemnon. After the occupation of the city by the Romans in the second century A. D. the city was called Adrianople, in honor of a Roman Emperor, Hadrian. The city was well fortified by the Romans and was considered one of the strongest fortresses of their Eastern Empire. Later, when Constantine transferred the capital to Constantinople, Adrianople was included within the boundaries of the Eastern or Greek-Roman Empire. It was inhabited by the Greeks, though Roman soldiers and immigrants gradually formed a part of its population.

About the seventh century the Bulgarians, who had come from Russia and settled in what is now Rumania, were permitted by the Byzantine Empire to occupy the present territory of Bulgaria, and Adrianople became important as a commercial city because of its position relative to trade between the Bulgarians and the Greeks. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Adrianople fell into the hands of the Turks under the leadership of Sultan Murad, and from there the Turks extended their sway over all Thrace. In 1453 they captured Constantinople and later extended their dominion over the whole Balkan Peninsula and the Peloponnesus.

After the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks the Bulgarians were permitted to come down into Thrace, and many of them settled in Adrianople. However, they have always remained the minority race, the majority being Turks, while the Greeks occupied the middle place. Many of the Greeks were forced to become Moslems. This racial adjustment gradually took place during the four centuries following the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks.

In the first Balkan War, in 1912, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro—the four Balkan States—united to protect themselves against the attempt on the part of Turkey to assimilate them into one Turkish Nation. At the close of this first Balkan war the boundaries of Turkey were pushed east to a line known as the Enos-Midia line, Enos being a city on the Aegean Sea near the Maritza River, and Midia a city on the Black Sea about 100 miles from Constantinople. Adrianople fell to Bulgaria. The second Balkan war, in 1913, was an attempt on the part of Bulgaria to get territory which had been taken by the other Balkan States, and during the struggle Turkey took advantage and occupied what is known as Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople. At the close of that war Bulgaria was given

what is known as Western Thrace. During the World War Bulgaria hesitated as to which side she should join, but finally sold herself to the Central Powers for the promise of a part of Adrianople called Karagatz and the territory on the right side of the Maritza River.

The work of the Peace Commission at Paris and later at San Remo in adjusting the Thracian question, and the masterful efforts of Venizelos to get Eastern and Western Thrace assigned to Greece, are still current history. The Greeks have always considered Thrace and a great part of Asia Minor as belonging to them by right of prior settlement; and, excluding the Turks, they have the majority of inhabitants. The Greeks have considered the Greek population of these territories as unredeemed, and since the armistice have maintained that all this territory should become Greek. The pulse of the Greek people has quickened and fallen according as each report from the various committees of the great powers was favorable or unfavorable to the realization of these aspirations.

Today, after one month's active campaign, the Greek Army is occupying all Thrace to within fifty miles of Constantinople, as well as a very large part of Asia Minor. There have been no atrocities and comparatively little fighting. The Turkish forces have been absolutely overcome. The inhabitants have found the Greek army of occupation a blessing. To my personal knowledge, from the private Greek soldier to the highest official, every effort is being made to placate the inhabitants of these occupied territories.

It is very evident that it will be impossible for the Greek Army to withdraw its police protection from these territories for at least a generation unless some other power should take over that burden. The withdrawal of police protection now would only give opportunity for greater atrocities than have yet occurred. By process of elimination it is very easy to prove that there is no other power that is able or would have the right to police these territories, and if this burden must of necessity fall on Greece, the least the other powers can do is to give her the proper encouragement and backing. The backing needed is financial. At the present time Greece is spending enormous sums and many people are speculating as to where she is getting her credit. The general opinion is that England is backing her up. . . . If America would extend sufficient credit and help to bring the Greek drachma back to its normal value, it would not only assist this brave little nation in making this part of the world safe, but would also enable the Greek people to trade much more freely with America.

H. A. HENDERSON.

Office of American Y. M. C. A. with the Greek Army, Athens, Greece, July 26, 1920.

# Labor Conscription—Farm Distribution

## Two Notable Experiments in Bulgaria

BY THE SOFIA CORRESPONDENT OF LE TEMPS, PARIS.

*The following article gives the outlines of the proposals for labor conscription embodied in a law carried through recently by the Bulgarian Premier, M. Stambouliski:*

IT is known that the Premier has succeeded in suppressing promptly the disturbances which the Bulgarian Socialists had managed to evoke. He supplied to these Communists, eager to transform the order of society, an opportunity for carrying their theory into effect; by way of example he proceeded to expropriate their worldly goods and installed them in the marshes of Bourgas, where they have every latitude for putting their principles into practice.

But it is no longer a mere question of putting an end to the attempts of the champions of disorder. Public order must be firmly established; some kind of headway must be made in shouldering the terribly heavy burdens left by the war. With this end in view, M. Stambouliski's Government dared to carry through two very bold pieces of legislative reform, reforms which might almost be called positive social experiments: the law on labor conscription and the law on landed property.

The principles of the law on public labor were thought out and drafted by M. Stambouliski himself. The argument prefixed to the law draws attention to the need now being felt in the country for an organization capable of creating a more productive and a more modern economic system. The legislator aims at stopping up the existing gap and making headway against present difficulties by a labor service. The Premier hopes to effect the following reforms by means of this law: spread of education among the young and preparation of young persons for practical life; better management of the public lands and increase of their productivity; specialization of individual labor; finally, general economic progress

and repair of the material damage suffered by the country owing to the war.

The bill imposes on all Bulgarian subjects of the male sex from their twentieth year onwards, on all those of the female sex from their eighteenth year onwards, an obligation of work; that is, they must pay a contribution in the form of labor, this contribution to be used in every department of economic and social life and organization, e. g. road building, railway and canal construction, public building, laying out of towns and villages, mining, factory work, &c. All these works shall be carried on under the control of the Ministry concerned.

Such State labor shall be personal labor; no substitutions shall be allowed, except for causes of physical or intellectual incapacity, or of marriage in the case of girls, or of army or police service in the case of young men. No Bulgarian national may act for another nationality or expatriate himself before he has fulfilled his service. Service shall last sixteen months for men and ten months for women; the first three months shall be given to preparatory courses, and the rest to productive labor; heads of families shall be exempted from one-half the period of service. Further, the law defines, for all Bulgarian subjects between 20 and 45 years of age (with the exception of a few classes of persons very strictly specified) a temporary obligation to give their labor in cases of a big harvest or of great public calamity or loss. The law confers on the Council of Ministers the right to have recourse to a conscription of Bulgarian citizens by communes, districts or departments, partial or general,

as the need may be. This conscription, as well as State service, is quite separate from military service.

A new organization is necessary in order to apply this system. Consequently, M. Stambouliski plans to set up a general labor supervising office. This



PREMIER STAMBOULISKI  
*Head of the new Bulgarian Government and  
only man who signed the Peace Treaty*  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

supervising office will be attached to the Ministry of Public Works and will include nine sections. The departmental heads of the Ministries, who are specialists, will be put in command over the different sections of the supervising office. The Supreme Council of Labor will be the most authoritative body in the supervising office and will include the Supervisor General, the heads of the sections and representatives from each Ministry. The functions of this Council will be to regulate questions arising in connection with the organization and distribution of labor. All Ministers requiring labor for public works shall be bound to apply to this Council.

State service shall be of various kinds, rural service, technical service, trade service, mining service, fishing service; these shall all be attached to special bureaus which shall be under the supervising office. The Government, with a view to preparing young persons for State service, shall set up apprenticeship courses and schools, workshops, model farms, &c.

This law has given rise to unending controversy. Many persons have denied both the usefulness and the possibility of carrying it out; they have argued that instead of increasing production it will merely lead to a shortage of labor, and that, above all, the organization of such a service will cost the State very dear, requiring expenditure of 300,000,000 francs. M. Stambouliski, however, defended his proposals, arguing that the institution of State service would considerably reinforce the forces of co-operation in the country and would exercise a salutary influence on the education of the citizens; it would accustom them to hard physical labor. As for the huge sum which the organization of the new service will require, its partisans assert that the results obtained will not only suffice to cover expenses, but will give a new start to production. After long debates in the Sobranje the bill became law.

This is the first of the great reforms which M. Stambouliski had announced to the country when he assumed power.

The second reform, which is in the course of being carried out, is the bill on agricultural reform. The fundamental principle on which this bill is built up is that the institution of private property is the best stimulus toward obtaining productive work. The aim embodied in the law is a division of landed property into equal parcels, so as to give to the rural cultivator the chance of getting the highest profits out of his labors. Further, the more intense pursuit of agricultural production and the increase of national wealth might serve to counterbalance those extreme elements who want to ruin the existing order of society. One of the principal objects

aimed at is to further home colonization and furnish farms to the thousands of Bulgarian refugees from the districts of which Bulgaria has been deprived.

The chief provisions of the law are as follows: no rural proprietor may hold land in excess of what he and his family can cultivate; the boundaries of landed estates shall be fixed in the various districts by a District Agricultural Council, and in the communes by a Communal Council for Private Property. Lands which are not fully cultivated shall be expropriated against compensation and distributed among landless cultivators. The same plan of procedure shall be ap-

plied to State, municipal and monastery lands; they shall be taken over by a corporation dealing with public lands, which corporation shall be the arbitrator as to a fair distribution of landed property. With the exception of expropriated forests, which shall become State property, all other lands belonging to private persons or to the State shall form the Corporation for Landed Property. It is to this corporation that the communal commissions are to apply when they want to distribute land to cultivators who have none at all or to those who have less than they could manage to cultivate with the help of their families.

## The Russian-Austrian Treaty

THE following is the text of a treaty between Austria and the Russian Soviet Government signed on July 5, and ratified by Russia on July 9 and by Austria on July 14, 1920. It will be seen that the effect of Clauses 2 and 5 is that diplomatic relations are resumed between the two Governments. Clause 3 pledges Austria to the fullest possible neutrality in the war against Russia:

The Government of the Russian and Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, represented by Mr. Maxim Litvinov, Delegate of the Council of People's Commissaries, and the Government of the Austrian Republic, represented by Mr. Paul Richter, M. P., Vice President of the State Commission for Prisoners of War, seeking to hasten the return of the prisoners of war by every means at their disposal, conclude today the present treaty agreement:

1. The contracting Governments undertake to send back all war and civilian prisoners in their domains, without distinction of rank (men, non-commissioned officers, doctors, army medical service, officers, military officials, etc.) making use of all the means of transport at their disposal.

This treaty stipulation shall be held to be fulfilled when the prisoners are handed over on the Russo-Esthonian frontier in the neighborhood of Narva, and both contracting Governments shall be at liberty to propose other places at which prisoners may be handed over.

Both contracting Governments declare their acceptance of the principle that such prisoners as wish to remain in the country shall not be prevented from doing so.

2. For the purpose of protecting the interests of war and civilian prisoners, and

in order to provide for and assist their repatriation, one representative of the two contracting Governments will be received at the seat of each central Government; these representatives shall enjoy the rights of extra-territoriality, including the right of free and uninterrupted communication by wireless and in code with their Governments.

For technical and administrative purposes and for the assistance of these representatives in the performance of their duties, permission shall be mutually granted for not more than five delegates of each Government, among whom doctors may be included, to proceed to the seat of the central Government.

3. The Austrian Government pledges itself to neutrality in the war against Russia, and to forbid absolutely all delivery or transport of arms, munitions, or war material through its territory, whether by its own or foreign means of transport.

4. The Austrian Government pledges itself to grant to the People's Commissaries of the former Hungarian Soviet Government at present within its territory liberty to leave the country, and to assist their transport to Russia as soon as possible by all appropriate means.

5. In order to resume the economic relations between the peoples of the two States, which the war has broken off, the representatives mentioned in Clause 2 shall act as plenipotentiaries of their Governments.

6. This treaty shall come into force on the day on which it is signed, that is, July 5, 1920.

Copenhagen, the 5th day of July, 1920.

On behalf of the Russian and Ukrainian Government, MAXIM LITVINOV.

On behalf of the Austrian Government,

PAUL RICHTER.

[From the *Arbeiterzeitung*, July 17, 1920.]



## Bolshevist Overtures to China

### Full Text of Soviet Note Renouncing Conquests and Offering an Alliance Against China's Foes

**T**HE Russian Soviet Government sent to the Chinese Government at Peking, shortly before April 1, 1920, an important note denying all hostile intentions toward China, all desires of conquest and renouncing all railway and other concessions obtained under the Czar, Kerensky, Kolchak, Horvath or Semenov—likewise Russia's share of the Boxer indemnity—and offering to aid China to regain her lost independence and prestige. The full text of this note, as sent out by the Public Information Bureau at Shanghai, is given below:

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peking:  
To the Chinese people and the Western and Central Governments of China:

On this day, when the troops of the Soviets, after having defeated the army of the counter-revolutionary despot Kolchak, maintained by bayonets and foreign gold, have entered Siberia and are marching in accord with the revolutionary people of Siberia, the Council of the Commissaries of the People address the following fraternal words to the people of China:

Soviet Russia and her Red Army, after two years' fighting, after incredible efforts, does not march eastward across the Ural Mountains for reprisals or in a spirit of conquest. Every peasant and workman in Siberia knows this to be true. We bring to the people liberation from the yoke of militarism, from foreign gold which smothers in enslavement the people of the Orient, among whom the Chinese people occupy a prominent place.

We not only bring help to our working classes, but also to the Chinese people, and call to their minds once again what we have never ceased to tell them since the great revolution of October, 1917, what has perhaps been hidden from them by Americans, Europeans and Japanese. Ever since the workingmen's and peasants' Government took into its hands power in October, 1917, it has sent out in the name of the Russian people to all the peoples of the world their proposition to establish a durable peace.

This peace should be founded upon the reciprocal renouncement of the acquiring of territory, of every contribution from every people, whether large or small, wherever they may be, against all other nations, that each nation should be free in its internal life and that no power should hold back by force workmen or peasants.

This peace further declares annulled all secret treaties with Japan, China and the ex-Allies, treaties which were to serve the Government of the Czar and his allies in overcoming and purchasing the people, and particularly the Chinese, in the sole interests of capitalists, moneyed proprietors and Russian Generals.

The Soviet Government has offered to the Chinese Government a chance to commence conferences on the subject of the annulment of the Treaty of 1896, the protocol of Peking of 1901 and the agreement with Japan in 1906-07, that is to say, to render back to the Chinese people all that which was taken away by the Government of the Czar, comprising all authority given to Japan and the Allies. But the Allies took the Government of Peking roughly by the throat, bribed heavily the mandarins and the Chinese press and forced the Chinese Government to refuse to enter into relations with the workingmen's and peasants' Government of Russia. \* \* \*

The Soviet Government restores to the Chinese people without any compensation the Chinese Eastern Railway, the mining and forestry concessions, and other privileges which had been seized by the Czar's Government, the Kerensky Government and the brigands Horvath, Semenov, Kolchak, the Russian ex-Generals, lawyers and capitalists. The Soviet Government renounces the contribution by China for the Boxer insurrection of 1900.

It seems necessary to repeat this a third time because it is reported that in spite of our renouncement of this contribution it is still being paid to the Allies for the upkeep of the former [Russian] Imperial Minister in Peking and the former Imperial Consuls in China. The powers given to these officers of the Czar have long since ceased to exist, but the officers continue to live in their house and fool the Chinese public with the assistance of Japan and the Allies. The Chinese people should take cognizance of this fact and banish these liars and fools from their territory.

The Soviet Government will do away with all special privileges, all factories of Russian merchants in Chinese territory, and no official, whether Russian priest or missionary, can escape judgment before a local Chinese court for any crime committed. There shall not exist in China any power or law which is not that of the Chinese people, with the exception of some principal points which shall be taken up between the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the Soviet Government and the Chinese people. \* \* \*

The Soviet Government is perfectly aware

of the fact that the Allies and Japan did everything possible to prevent the voice of the Russian workmen and peasants being heard by the Chinese people lest they understand that our armies are marching toward Siberia and Manchuria to assist the Siberian peasants and workmen in freeing themselves from the domination of the bandit Kolchak and his allies, the Japanese. If the Chinese people at the instance of the Russian people wish to become free and to avoid the fate which has been reserved for them by the Allies at Versailles, which is to make of their country a second Korea or another India,

they should make a fight for liberty with the workmen and peasants of Russia and the Red Army.

The Soviet Government offers to the Chinese people an opportunity to establish official relations and asks them to send their representative to the front of our Russian Army.

Signed by direction of the Commissary for Foreign Affairs, Karakhan, a copy conforming with the Delegate Plenipotentiary of the Council of the Commissaries of the People for Foreign Affairs in Siberia and the Far East.

JANSON.

## The British Communist Party

THE British Communist Party—whose non-existence was deplored by Lenin in his letter to British Labor, and whose creation was demanded by the Third Moscow International in its answers to the questionnaire of the Independent Socialist Party (see the preceding article)—came formally into being in London on July 31, 1920. It was formed, indeed, in direct reply to the Moscow appeal.

Among the questions asked of the Moscow International by the Independent Socialists was the following, which was eighth on the list:

In what respect does the Third International consider that Communism differs from other forms of Socialism?

The Executive Committee of the Moscow International, considering this question as pivotal, answered it first. The reply was long. It reviewed half a century of Socialist activity, and attacked the "centre" of the Second International, represented in England by Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, in France by Jean Longuet, in Germany by Karl Kautsky and Haase, in Italy by Modigliani, Turatti and Treves, in Russia by Axelrod and Martov, in the United States by Morris Hillquit—all of whom it accuses of playing during the war the rôle of Pontius Pilate, "washing their hands of the guilt." The main offense of these Centre leaders, implies the document, is that they do not foment revolution and sedition, that they "persuade the workers that socialism can be obtained only by constitutional means,"

\* \* \* that they "carry on no kind of agitation among the British soldiers and sailors." The argument is clinched as follows:

In what respect does Communism differ from other forms of socialism? We reply: There are no other forms, there is only Communism. Whatever else goes under the name of socialism is either willful deception by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie or the self-delusion of persons or groups who hesitate to choose between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; who hesitate between a life-and-death struggle and the rôle of assistants to the expiring bourgeoisie.

In direct answer to a question asking how the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat could be applied to Great Britain, the Moscow organization advocated "a heavy civil war." The reply contained the following passages:

Whoever tells the British working class that it can overthrow the capitalist dictatorship in the British Empire through any other means than the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, by taking the full power into their own hands, by depriving of political power all those who defend capitalist exploitation and by organizing a Red labor army, deceives himself and others. \* \* \*

Had the British working class gained power by means of Parliamentary elections, by means of so-called democracy \* \* \* the Communists are not for a moment freed of their duty of saying to the workers the following:

(1) That it is most unlikely that the British bourgeoisie, the most energetic and skillful oppressor of national movements, the richest in the world, the ruler not only of millions of the peasants and the workers of the Colonies—it is most unlikely that this bourgeoisie will give up

its power without a struggle and become subject to the paper will of a Parliament;

(2) That, therefore, the workers should prepare not for an easy Parliamentary victory, but for victory by a heavy civil war;

(3) That should the workers have succeeded in gaining power without this civil war, that would only signify that the necessity of civil war would confront the working class so soon as it set out to realize its will to defend itself from capitalist exploitation and speculation; so soon as it began to liberate the masses in the Colonies now oppressed by British Imperialism.

Imbued with these principles, the scattered Communist groups throughout the British Empire came together and issued through a "Provisional Committee" a call for a meeting of organization. This meeting was held at the Cannon Street Hotel on the afternoon of July 31. In its circular calling for assembly, the Provisional Committee said in part:

Faced with the vigor and the solidarity of the imperialists internationally, and their organized determination to crush every vestige of working class freedom, and particularly to batter down the workers' republic in Russia, who now can defend the time-worn ideas still held by some Socialists of a gradual evolution or peaceful transition from capitalism into socialism? . . . To hasten the world revolution accruing, a Communist Party is wanted. A party of action. One that will wage the class war up to the point of revolution. This Communist Party must stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The national convention of independent Socialist societies and local Communist groups accepting "the dictatorship of the working class, the Soviet system, and the Third Moscow International" as the fundamental bases of Communist unity, met at the time and place appointed. Nearly 200 delegates were present, presided over by the Provisional Committee. Arthur McManus, the Chairman, pointed out the obstacles and difficulties in the way of those now seeking to create a Communist Party in Great Britain. The nature of their deliberations, however, he declared, would be a more effective reply to the solicitations of Russia than anything that had emanated from England since the beginning of the revolution in that country up to the present time. He urged them

to pay no attention to the criticism of the press, and not to fear the consequences of any statement they wished to make.

Fraternal greetings were read from the German Communist Party, from the Italian Socialist Party, from the Norwegian Labor Party, from the German and Austrian Communist Party and from the Dutch Communist Party. A letter was also read from Lenin. In this message, dated July 8, the Russian leader expressed his complete sympathy with the plans of the Joint Provisional Committee of the British Communist Party. He continued as follows:

I consider the policy of Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst and of the Workers' Socialist Federation in refusing to collaborate in the amalgamation of the British Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, and others into one Communist Party, to be wrong. I personally am in favor of participation in Parliament and of adhesion to the Labor Party on condition of free and independent Communist activity. This policy I am going to defend at the Second Congress of the Third International at Moscow. I consider it most desirable that a Communist Party be speedily organized on the basis of the decisions and principles of the Third International, and that that party be brought into close touch with the Industrial Workers of the World and the Shop Steward Committee in order to bring about their complete union.

A debate followed, in which one speaker said that "the downfall of capitalism would be in the simple form of a struggle in the streets under the guidance of the Communist Party." A resolution establishing the Communist Party, and declaring its adhesion to the Third International, was carried unanimously. A resolution was moved on behalf of the Provisional Committee by T. Bell which favored Parliamentary action as a valuable means of propaganda and agitation, and which declared that Parliamentary representatives must take their mandate from the Communist Party, and not from their constituency. The question of the oath of allegiance to the King he disposed of by saying that the Communists had no scruples on this score, in view of the objects to be gained. Robert Williams, supporting the resolution, pointed out that Lenin advocated political action, and urged having a few men in Parliament who, every time a Cabinet Minister

spoke, should cry out that he was lying. The resolution was carried. The executive of the new party was to consist of six members in addition to the Provisional Committee composed of W. Paul, A. McManus and T. Bell. The convention reconvened on Aug. 1 at the International Socialist Club and voted for affiliation with the Labor Party by 100 against 35. The new party finally stood committed to the following program:

The establishment of a Soviet form of Government by means of revolution.

The establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Participation in Parliament under mandate from the Communist Party only.

Affiliation with the Labor Party, with the objects expressed.

The British press reported the sessions of the convention in full detail, commenting variously, and attacking the validity of the arguments for revolution set forth. No Government action to prevent the convention was taken, and no legal or police activity followed the delivery of incendiary speeches.

## The Second International at Geneva

### Congress of Moderate Socialists Who Oppose the Moscow International's Violent Methods

THE international congress of old-line Socialists, whose organization is known as the Second International, as distinguished from the Third International of the Bolsheviks, opened in Geneva, Switzerland, in the Maison Communale, on July 31, 1920. In contrast with the sessions at Stuttgart in 1907, which were attended by about 800 delegates, and with the meeting at Copenhagen in 1910, attended by about 900, the Geneva Congress was attended by a scant 100 delegates—a fact which spoke eloquently of the effect of dissension within the ranks of socialism and of the abandonment of the Second International by many groups. Thomas Shaw, M. P., of the British delegation, was unanimously elected President, and M. Vliegen of the Dutch delegation, Vice President.

In his opening address Mr. Shaw painted a sombre picture of the European situation, describing the international outlook as extremely grave because the United States was apparently unwilling to enter the League of Nations, and because a state of terror and economic and political chaos reigned in Eastern Europe. He further declared that, in view of this situation, the divisions of the international labor movement were tragic, and were actually re-

tarding the rebuilding of the world. It was idle to deny, he said, that grave differences existed within the International, and it seemed impossible to reconcile the conflicting views of those who believed in violent revolution and class dictatorship and those who believe that all classes of men and women had a right to a voice in their country's life. If the Russian Socialists believed the only method was violent revolution and class dictatorship, they were free to adopt it, but if it was proposed to apply that principle to the speaker's own country, his voice would be raised against it. His final appeal for unity and common sense was applauded by the delegates.

M. Huysmans (Belgium), Secretary of the International, then presented his report, and proposed the appointment of four committees: one dealing with the question of international unity and the reconstruction of the Second International; the second, with the question of war responsibilities, militarism and the League of Nations; the third, with the question of socialism, including the problem of the Parliamentary method as opposed to that of dictatorship, and the fourth, with the credentials and status of the various delegations. These were appointed, after some debate regarding the discussion of war responsibilities,



which the French right wing Socialists declared was indispensable to re-establishing the International, while the German delegation, supported by the British, declared that this question could not be settled now, and that the future was more important than the past.

These committees presented their reports at the next formal session on Aug. 2. Considerable excitement was caused by the announcement of the Credentials Committee that it had decided to exclude the French delegates, partly on the ground that some of them had been expelled from the party on the charge of not being revolutionary enough; but M. Huysmans, the Secretary, pleaded their case, and they were finally seated. M. Alexinsky, former member of the Russian Duma, who had been imprisoned four times by the Czar and once by the Bolsheviks, was excluded, largely through the efforts of the British pacifists, who objected to him on the ground of his support of the anti-Bolshevist General Denikin.

The vexed question of war responsibilities was finally settled that afternoon by acceptance of the report drawn up by allied, neutral and German members of the Committee on Responsibilities. This report took cognizance of the German Socialist declaration that Imperial Germany had committed grave crimes against civilization during the war, that the Majority Socialists themselves had committed the fault of not fighting energetically against the militarism of their Government, and that "the German revolution, to the great misfortune of the whole world, and especially the German people, had happened five years too late." The report then laid most of the blame on "the capitalist method of rule, which was one of the most profound causes of the war," and concluded:

This conference gives over to the execration of the people the authors of the abominable slaughter which has stained Europe and the world with blood, and affirms its strong decision to strive henceforward against a government of aggression and conquest in the spirit and service of the International.

Once having agreed on the terms of

this concession by the German delegates, the conference proceeded smoothly, though an animated discussion arose over the question of the Versailles Treaty. M. Troelstra (Holland) and M. Stanning (Denmark) both attacked the treaty. M. Troelstra, whose pro-German proclivities were well known, declared that the "intolerable character" of the treaty had made militarism and imperialism more powerful than ever. He called on the conference to protest against its terms, and against any direct or indirect intervention in Russia. Herr Bernstein (Germany) sought to prove the change of mind of Germany since the revolution. The Supreme Council, he said, had treated the new Germany as though it had undergone no change, and the result had been an increase in the want of faith in the German revolution. The danger of this reactionary movement, he declared, could not be ignored by Germany, which was threatened from both the east and west, and politically by both the extreme Left and extreme Right. He expressed, however, his hope in the English people, who would insist on fair dealing. A message from Mr. Smillie, President of the Miners' International Congress, which was then in session in Geneva, urging a policy of reconciliation, and declaring that a unanimous vote by the miners in favor of a general international strike could be obtained in case war with Russia should be declared, was shelved without action on the suggestion of the German delegates, who pointed out the immediate and terrible consequences of the proposal, and advocated referring the discussion of such a delicate matter to a small committee.

The Committee on Unity presented a resolution, which recommended that in order to secure a united International the British section be invited to act as the negotiating body in the matter of approaching such labor and Socialist organizations as were not represented at the Geneva Congress, and to take steps to secure their attendance at future conferences. The committee furthermore recommended that the draft statutes adopted at the Lucerne Conference in 1919 be immediately put into force, and

finally proposed the removal of the International's headquarters to London, where the executive would meet regularly pending a final decision of the British delegates regarding the composition of the Secretariat. All these recommendations were adopted, the last by the British members only provisionally. The French delegates abstained from voting on the ground that undue influence might arise in London by a coalition between the German groups and the British Labor Party, whose German sympathies were pronounced.

The Committee on the League of Nations presented a report which advocated modifications in the Treaty of Versailles to enable the nations of Central Europe to re-establish themselves, and urged labor and Socialist forces to obtain representation for themselves on the League, and to begin to transform and enlarge its powers. M. Troelstra suggested that a clause requiring a democratic constitution for nations seeking admission to the League was directed against Russia. His amendments were referred to the committee. At the session of Aug. 4 the Congress voted unanimously in support of the League, and also of the International Labor Bureau.

Mr. Snowden proposed a resolution, adopted unanimously, calling on the British Government to provide the funds necessary for the maintenance of the child welfare work in the suffering areas. The British Government, he explained, had already subscribed about £200,000 to this fund, but it was hoped to raise at least £4,000,000 in Great Britain alone.

A resolution calling attention to the military preparations of Hungary against Austria under the eyes of the allied commission was passed.

The question of socialization was discussed at the sessions of Aug. 4 and 5. The committee's report declaring for socialization by democratic methods and repudiating violence was strongly opposed by Mr. Bromley (England) and Mr. Theodore (New Zealand), who declared that it was so weak that it would kill the Second International if it were passed. M. Wijbauw (Holland) replied

for the committee, emphasizing the belief that the main object of the International was the transformation of capitalistic property into collective property. The program proposed, he declared, was the sole basis on which the whole task of socialization could be accomplished. Amendments were rejected, and the resolution was passed.

The final session, which concluded at midnight on Aug. 5, was devoted chiefly to Russia. M. Vandervelde (Belgium) and Herr Scheidemann (Germany) came out strongly against Bolshevism, while M. Troelstra and Neil Maclean accused the conference of timidity and reaction. J. H. Thomas said that the British were opposed to intervention in Russia, but that they would also hinder the Bolsheviks from profiting by the present situation to the injury of other nations. Mr. Shaw transferred the Presidency temporarily to M. Vliegen in order to make an eloquent attack on Bolshevism as he had seen it during his recent visit to Soviet Russia as a member of the British Labor Commission. He set forth in detail the reasons which had led the British Labor Party to reject the ideal of the Soviet Republic. In Russia, he declared, there was no such thing as a dictatorship of the proletariat. All liberty was abolished, and the working class was oppressed by an autocratic and militaristic régime analogous to that of the Czar. Mr. Shaw said in part:

We bring back from Moscow and Petrograd a sad impression of the condition of the laboring class. The workmen have almost no bread to eat. The terror inflicted by Bolshevism is so great that no one dares express his opinions. Arrests are frequent, following the bloody executions so numerous at the beginning of the Bolshevik régime. The workmen must work as directed, and at what they are told.

He refused, he said, to use mild language to men who threatened to hang Herr Scheidemann, called Ramsay MacDonald a traitor to the working classes, and denounced other leaders as the bourgeois tools of the capitalists. He could not understand the mentality of men who were willing to plunge their country into revolution at the bidding of Lenin.

Mr. Shaw ended by urging the con-

gress to vote for a resolution declaring that the essential condition of the exercise of power by the working class is that it should reach a sufficient degree of unity and consciousness to exert power, rejecting all methods of violence and terrorism, and condemning the tendency to transform automatically all industrial strikes into a political revolution. According to this resolution a system of legislation and administration would be established by the working class on a democratic basis, but trade union and co-operative action, better adapted to the needs of modern industrial society, would be substituted for the present machinery. This resolution was supported by M.

Vandervelde and M. Troelstra, and was finally unanimously voted, together with approval of all the recommendations of the commission. The conference closed upon the note of repudiation of Bolshevik violence as a means of attaining the Socialist ideal.

It was decided that the next congress of the Second International should be held at Brussels in 1922. The new International Committee included Mr. Henderson, President; J. H. Thomas and Ramsay Macdonald. It was announced that a new Labor Mission would visit Georgia, in the Caucasus, to compare conditions there with other countries in the early Fall.

### The International Miners' Congress at Geneva

While the Socialist Congress was holding its sessions in the Maison Commune the Twenty-fifth International Congress of Miners was holding its own discussions in the Maison du Peuple, at the other end of Geneva. The miners' unions of all countries, France, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, &c., were represented. The President of the congress was Robert Smillie, the Secretary Mr. Ashton, both of the British delegation. The English delegates outnumbered all the others, 70 of them being in attendance, as against 35 German delegates, 25 French, 5 Belgian; the Americans, Austrians, Hungarians had each 1. The following subjects were discussed: The revision of the statutes of the organization, the nationalization of mines in all countries, the length of the working day, and the creation of an International Coal Council.

Mr. Smillie in his opening address urged the miners to give more attention to the prevention of war. No war could be waged without coal. He begged the miners to give the Second International a lesson in solidarity. His proposal, however, suggesting an alteration in the statute to enable the International Committee to take immediate action should war be threatened, met with the same fate as the analogous proposal at the Socialist Congress, and was referred to a committee.

The proposal to establish a minimum working day of six hours, moved by the German group, was opposed by the French delegates. The Germans took advantage of the discussion to attack bitterly the terms of the coal protocol which Germany was compelled to sign at Spa, and described the exhausting labors of the German miners to supply the 200,000 tons of coal demanded monthly by France. A maximum of eight hours, however, was finally adopted, though the hope was expressed that this might be reduced as industrial conditions improved.

At the session of Aug. 3 a resolution was carried, following an all-day discussion, that all national mining groups should strive for the immediate nationalization of mines in every country. It was understood that the national secretaries should report to the International Miners' Bureau in three months, and that a special meeting of the International Committee should be held within a few months to discuss the action to be taken.

At the session of Aug. 5 Ramsay Macdonald moved a resolution on economic reconstruction, in which he said that the allied Governments were calling on Germany to pay, and yet refused to allow her to work. He moved that Germany be supplied with phosphates and food to

enable her to fight Bolshevism. This resolution received unanimous support.

The congress closed on Aug. 6 with the passing of a resolution moved by the German delegation, and modified by the French delegates, who obtained a decision to refer it to the International

Labor Bureau, proposing the creation of an International Council of Coal. It was declared that the object of this resolution was not to impair the force of existing treaties, but to remedy the disorder and waste of defective distribution.

## Causes of the Trouble in China

### Problem of the Soldiers' Pay

By ST. P. RUDINGER

[MAJOR C. M. F. RETIRED; FORMER A. D. C. TO THE MILITARY GOVERNOR OF SHANGHAI]

THE causes of the petty wars that have disturbed China for years, and which have cost billions of dollars and thousands of lives, date from the year 1911, when the monarchy was overthrown and a republican Government was established by foreign-educated Chinese.

One of the points in which the new Government showed inefficiency was its method of maintaining the Federal army. The Chinese Republic consists of eighteen provinces, ruled by Governors, or Tuchuns, who are not elected, but are appointed by the President of China. After the monarchy had been overthrown the republican Government, of course, in most cases appointed new Governors and expected the old ones to resign. Some of these refused to do so. The Government ordered its troops to eject the revolting Governors, but neglected to pay the troops properly. In some cases the officials against whom the troops had been sent offered to retain these same soldiers and to pay them the salaries which the Government had failed to pay. Thereupon the soldiers often deserted to the Tuchun, who then had the means to oppose a forceful ejection. Finally the Government sent more soldiers, and paid them this time, under condition that they fight; and fight they did—till the next payday arrived. When the money failed to materialize there was no fighting and often an additional number of desertions.

The question who is to control China's army—the Central Government in Peking

or the Governor who actually pays the men—is still unsettled, and this very simple issue is one of the main causes of all the trouble in China.

There are other reasons, however. It is a great mistake to believe that the population of China is homogeneous. It is true that most of the tribes belong to the Mongoloid race; but there are about seventy different tribes, and most of them are entirely different from each other in looks, customs and language.



Anybody who has lived in China for some time knows the great difference between the Chinese of the north and those of the south; knows that a native of Kansu has characteristics which are in no way similar to those of the inhabitants of Chekiang. A Chinese from Tientsin is unable to understand the speech of a native of Canton, and vice versa. The southerner speaks of the northerners as "barbarians," while the



"barbarians" contemptuously refer to the natives of the south as "little monkeys" and "no Chinese at all."

Because of these great differences of character there has never been much love lost between north and south. Shortly after the republic had been established a division of China was suggested by leaders of the south, with the Yangtse Valley as a boundary line. This was strongly opposed by the northerners, who formed a majority in the Government. Result: armed hostilities.

A further reason is to be found in ambitious individuals who, owing to some grudge against a Government official, deliberately start rebellions, promising their followers ample loot and good positions should they succeed. It has been found in several instances that certain



foreign interests were financing such uprisings in the hope of getting concessions from the Government on the ground that the property or lives of foreigners had been destroyed during the fighting. In addition there is the usual pest of banditry on a large scale, as in the case of Peh Lang, the "White Wolf," who, with several thousand ex-soldiers, defied the Government forces for several years—till an arrangement was made between him and the Government, by which he received not only full amnesty, but a military rank of importance.

Until recently most of the upheavals took place in Southern, Western and Middle China. The present trouble is away up north, but the issue again is as

to who shall command the army, the Central Government or the Military Governor of the province in which the troops are stationed. The Chinese soldiers are



inclined to give their allegiance to the man who pays them, rather than to a far-away body of men known as the Government, which issues orders that nobody obeys, and which has not sufficient power to enforce these orders.

I wish to emphasize the fact, however, that the Chinese soldier is no comic-opera figure. Some of the Japanese Generals in the war of 1894 had an opportunity to see that the Chinese is a very enduring and courageous soldier if properly led. It is true that the army is not as well organized and officered as the army of the United States or of a European nation; but it must not be forgotten that the Oriental has his own views concerning neat appearance and discipline. One fact is undeniable, and that is the utter absence of caste in the army. Officers and men meet in a most democratic manner.

The officers of the Chinese Army, which is estimated to be about 300,000

strong, are divided into two classes—those who have been graduated from military schools, receiving part of their training in Europe, and those who have risen from the ranks. The latter generally rise to the rank of Captain, lacking the qualifications to pass the examinations for field officers, while the former class generally is to be found in staff appointments and the like.

The discipline, as a whole, is good. The Chinese Army has its "old timers," who see that discipline is maintained and that the men get their proper training. During the World War I was in command of a battalion of infantry composed of men who had received their training at the Fuh-Tan college in Shanghai, and I found them not only excellent material as regards discipline but highly intelligent as well. Most of the trouble in China could be eliminated if the Government only would pay the soldiers regularly.

Very often I have been asked whether China is actually hostile to foreigners. I have lived among the Chinese and can

say that where foreigners have been molested in the last few years it generally was not the fault of the Chinese. There are, of course, exceptions that merely confirm the rule. The Chinese are not a bit more anti-foreign than the citizens of any other nation if they are treated decently. Unfortunately, most of the foreigners in China despise the Chinaman, because he is not foolish enough to torture himself with a stiff collar and act the hypocrite in various ways. He has a good sense of humor, is a gentleman at heart, and a good sport, characteristics which he shows as soon as he knows the other man. He is reserved toward unknown foreigners, having had the experience that the white man feels very superior toward him, a thing which any person would resent.

The Chinese have great admiration for everything American. Unfortunately, China feels that it has been "left in the lurch" by this country since the war. It is still hoping for help from the nation which it formerly considered its best friend.

## Fate of the Wooden Ships

**B**Y the transfer of an item of \$250,000,000 from the assets to the liabilities account of the Federal balance sheet, announced from Washington on Aug. 3, a dispute is recalled which had far-reaching consequences. The enormous item thus written off as loss represents the cost of the 300 wooden ships built hastily in 1917 to transport the American Army abroad despite the menace of German submarines. General Goethals, then General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, opposed the building of wooden ships as more costly and less effective than steel ships. Mr. Denman, Chairman of the Shipping Board, disagreed with him, and as a re-

sult of the lively conflict that ensued Colonel Goethals sought other fields of activity. Then, when it transpired that the judgment of Goethals was correct, the forced retirement of Mr. Denman followed and there was a complete reorganization of the Shipping Board under Chairman Hurley. Many of these wooden ships were still unfinished when the end of the war approached and the contractors speeded up their work in order not to lose their profits. The ships are still a cause for considerable expense, yet are said to be practically useless. They lie at various ports, a peacetime white elephant, awaiting purchase by private firms.



# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Developments in Half a Hundred Countries of Both Hemispheres

[For Alphabetical Index of Countries see Table of Contents]

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1920]

### Sinn Fein and Other British Problems

#### IRELAND

**A**N impartial American review of the condition of Ireland was presented in a series of articles in The New York Times by Charles H. Grasty, who had been received by both Irish factions in a friendly spirit. He found the Irish Republic an invisible republic, and its supporters carrying out a secret program in which talking was strictly against the rules. But much was gathered by Mr. Grasty of an illuminating nature.

Thus in Sinn Fein Ireland murder had become domesticated, and for "the cause" not murder at all, but "killing." The whole business of it was purely mechanical, to be done entirely without regard to ties of kinship or personal feelings. The correspondent was also impressed with the conviction that had Catholic Ireland the same character and temperament as Protestant Ireland, and had it accepted in the same way British rule, the whole island would probably long ago have become one of the most prosperous communities in the world. But in the foreign and Protestant rule of England lay the open sore of Catholic Ireland, the chain on the mastiff in the fable, never to be forgotten in spite of the charm of caresses. Mr. Grasty said:

The Irish who are now concerned in the effort for independence have remained true to type throughout the centuries. They live in the past and much of their hatred of England rests upon injuries inflicted hundreds of years ago. \* \* \* No account is taken of wrongs on the other side, such, for example, as the slaughter by the Irish clans of 150,000

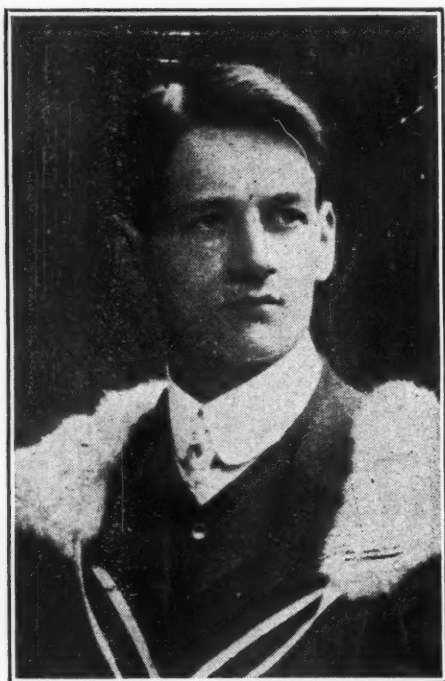
men, women and children in Ulster in 1641. Nor are there any entries on the credit side of the ledger for the great concessions that have been made by England.

Mr. Grasty, however, pointed out that of recent years the blundering of British Governmental policy had given the Irish "an ostensible reason and good talking positions for resorting to rebellious methods by doing nothing to improve conditions except under stress of rebellion."

At the end of August the conflict of factions burst forth anew in Belfast. From Aug. 26 until Sept. 2 fighting, sniping and wanton destruction of property went on in the city and suburbs. At one time flames raged against the darkened sky while machine-gun volleys swept the streets. On this occasion the contest was characterized as of intense bitterness, "the yells of the mob, the shrieks of women and children, and the groans of the injured being audible throughout the fighting." By Sept. 1 military reinforcements and the curfew law had reduced rioting and looting to a negligible quantity; but the devastated areas were described as resembling a ruined town in France: "Wrecked houses, boarded windows, torn-up roads, and only a stifled, nervous movement visible, except for ragged children who wove fanciful patterns from the debris used by their elders in bitter fury. There were even refugees, hunted and harassed, cherishing their portable possessions as they flitted from the tortured background of their persecution." It was officially computed that 214 premises

were completely destroyed and 25 lives sacrificed during the week.

The City of Lisburn was stricken with the fury of partisan strife, owing to the shooting of Police Inspector Swanzy. From Aug. 23-25 Loyalists burned and looted Nationalist property to the extent of £500,000, turned the business district into a scene of ruin, and compelled every worker to subscribe to a pledge that he



TERENCE MACSWINEY

*Lord Mayor of Cork, whose hunger strike  
caused new complications  
(Underwood & Underwood)*

was not a Sinn Feiner, had no sympathy with Sinn Fein, and was loyal to King and country. In other parts of Ireland the week-end list of property destruction, assassination of police, anti-Sinn Fein reprisals and similar incidents contained more than a hundred reported cases, and the list was still increasing daily.

An incident which roused widespread interest on both sides of the Atlantic was the conviction by court-martial on Aug. 16 of Alderman Terence MacSwiney, M. P., Lord Mayor of Cork, on charges

under the Defense of the Realm act. Lord Mayor MacSwiney was brought before the court heavily guarded, but was unrepresented by counsel. He refused to admit the legality of the court, and declared that if convicted and sentenced to imprisonment he would be free within a month—by death or otherwise—because he would refuse from that time forth to take food.

His conviction rested on three counts, viz.: having under his control the secret police cipher, being in possession of a resolution pledging the allegiance of Cork Corporation to Dail Eireann, and being in possession of a copy of the speech he made when elected Lord Mayor of Cork. He was sentenced to serve two years in prison.

After trial Lord Mayor MacSwiney was removed to Victoria Barracks, and on the 18th was brought to Brixton Prison, London. His resolution not to touch food had been carried out since the Thursday before his trial, and was unflinchingly continued. Every morning food was offered to him, but he resolutely turned his head aside. As weeks went by reports of his weakened condition reached the public freely, and resulted in numerous petitions and demonstrations for his release. An urgent appeal was addressed by Mayor Hylan of New York to Premier Lloyd George. The latter replied that he could not interfere with the course of justice. In a public statement justifying his course the Premier said: "A law which is a respecter of persons is no law." If Lord Mayor MacSwiney, whose situation he regretted, were released, then all the other hunger strikers would have to be granted their freedom. In this connection he pointed out that the release some weeks ago of hunger strikers in Ireland was followed by an outburst of cruel murder and outrage, and such a course, if followed to its logical conclusion, would result in the breakdown of the administration of the law in the United Kingdom.

On Sept. 8 the Premier declared papers had come into the hands of the British Government implicating Lord Mayor MacSwiney as taking a leading part in



the murder of eighty men of the Irish loyal forces. At the same time he rejected an appeal on behalf of eleven hunger strikers at the twenty-ninth day of their self-imposed fast in Cork jail. He took the ground that all had been arrested in the act of murderous attacks, or were involved in such, and that they were engaged in a combined effort to prevent their trial by reducing themselves to a physical condition under which a trial was impossible. To this campaign he could not bow.

The whole street-car service of Dublin ceased between 10 A. M. and noon on Sept. 11 to permit the employees to attend mass for the hunger striking Lord Mayor of Cork. In the neighboring town of Dalkey all business was suspended and the Protestant shopkeepers closed their places as a mark of respect. On the 12th Mr. MacSwiney's condition was described as of extreme exhaustion. In Glasgow 10,000 persons participated in a demonstration against his imprisonment. A similar gathering was held at Bermondsey.

While rioting went on in Belfast and a state of terror reigned in Lisburn, 700 moderate-minded Irishmen of all parties and creeds met in Dublin on Aug. 24 as the first united Irish attempt to build Premier Lloyd George's suggested bridge between the Sinn Fein and the British Government. Resolutions were passed suggesting a truce between opposing Irish factions and declaring it "possible for the British Government to secure peace in Ireland by an immediate and binding offer of full national self-government, to be accepted or rejected by specially elected representatives of the people of Ireland." Among leading speakers supporting the resolution were the Earl of Shaftesbury, from Ulster, Lord MacDonnell, Sir Stanley Harrington and Sir Horace Plunkett.

## ENGLAND

The campaign in England for public retrenchment entered an acute phase in the month's developments. The new People's Union for Economy issued a manifesto summarizing an indictment against the Government for alleged

crimes of extravagance. This disclosed that the Government's gross expenditure was six times more than in 1913-14, in spite of the fact that the nation had grown far poorer, and was also called upon to shoulder a burden of debt and excessive taxation becoming insupportable. The manifesto urged a radical overhauling of the Government departments.

As at least a single illustration of public efficiency, however, Lord Iverforth, former Surveyor General of Supplies in the British War Office, reported that he had been able to turn into the British Treasury on March 31 \$25,000,000, representing profits on all transactions since 1914. It was pointed out also that the raw material purchases of wool, hides, leather, flax, hemp and similar products, used largely in the manufacture of military equipment, made a direct saving of \$500,000,000.

On Aug. 11 the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to end the bread subsidy of \$45,000,000 a year in the interest of national economy and to bring about normal trade relations. As action to that end was to be taken before the beginning of another financial year, notice was served of a rise in the price of bread from 1s. to 1s. 3d. per quartern loaf the following month.

According to statistics prepared by the Ministry of Labor, the average of retail prices, including food, clothing, fuel, light and rents, on July 31 was about 155 per cent. above that for July, 1914. For food alone the average increase was 162 per cent. The steady climb of prices was marked in a rise from 136 per cent. in January to 158 per cent. in July, according to a table prepared by the Labour Gazette.

A report on the cost of living issued on Sept. 8 by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, presided over by J. H. Thomas, M. P., and including representatives of several workers' organization, found that the rise in prices was due more to currency expansion than to underproduction. It was, therefore, recommended that the

first step was to deflate currency to an extent sufficient to eliminate the depreciation in terms of gold. It was believed that, while such action would not cause a return to pre-war prices, yet it might reduce the general level 20 per cent. It would also cut at the root of profiteering.

The text of the Ministry of Health bill for the compulsory hire of empty houses to provide shelter for the working classes was made public on Aug. 18. The bill, if passed, will grant to a local authority power to hire compulsory any unoccupied house suitable for housing of the working classes, contingent on certain safeguards and provisions.

An ominous cloud again threatened both general industry and the country at large through the action of the coal miners on Aug. 31 in voting in favor of a strike for higher wages by a majority of 367,917 out of 606,782 ballots cast. As this action was supported by the railway men and transport workers under the designation of the "Triple Alliance," the seriousness of the situation became manifest. In an effort to avert the crisis Sir Robert Horne conferred with the coal miners' executive at the Board of Trade on Sept. 9. The coal miners' executive, however, refused the Government's proposals to submit the miners' claim for increased wages to the Industrial Court, or to meet the coal owners to discuss wage anomalies. Moreover, they insisted on their right to dictate to the Ministry and Parliament what disposition to make of the profit on the export of coal. The complete deadlock thus reached seemed to make the strike inevitable, beginning on Sept. 27. Meantime Government preparations to cope with the stoppage of the mines were being pressed forward.

### SCOTLAND

A preliminary liquor prohibition contest began throughout Scotland on Aug. 16. This action followed an act of Parliament passed some years ago, by which a vote could be taken this year in local areas to decide whether or not there was to be any interference with the liquor trade. Each district could make one of

three choices. It could go absolutely dry, decree a reduction in the number of licenses, or remain as before. The preliminary contest was to obtain a necessary 10 per cent. declaration of voters in favor of the movement before proceeding to a final poll.

More than 300,000 workers took part in a one-day strike on Aug. 23 as a protest against higher rents. In Glasgow 60,000 people stayed away from work, car services were suspended generally, and the Clyde shipyards and other large establishments in the surrounding industrial districts were closed. Industrial Edinburgh also came practically to a standstill, but in other places the movement fell short of the organizers' hopes.

### AUSTRALIA

According to figures issued by the Commonwealth statistician the estimated population of Australia on Dec. 31, 1919, was 5,247,019. New South Wales showed the largest natural increase.

A bill giving the Governor General of Australia power to create a Commonwealth council of industrial representatives—the Chairman to be appointed, three members to be chosen by employers and three by employees—to settle industrial disputes is before Parliament. Meanwhile labor is opposing deportations and the Trade Union Conference in session at Sydney on Aug. 22 passed a resolution to cripple all industries if they were continued. A message approving the threats of the British Labor Council for action in the case of Poland was cabled from Sydney.

The Prince of Wales ended his Australian visit on Aug. 19 and sailed for home by way of the Panama Canal, stopping at Honolulu and Acapulco.

Resolutions favoring prohibition were rejected by the Anglican Synod in session at Adelaide, South Australia, on Sept. 7.

### NEW ZEALAND

Chinese indentured labor will continue to be used in the Samoan Islands under Dominion Government, the House having passed the resolution by a vote of 33

to 11, although it was bitterly opposed by organized labor.

At a conference of the Farmers' Union in Wellington a resolution was passed urging the Government to prevent military slackers from acquiring land or property in New Zealand.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The session of the South African Parliament closed on Aug. 17 with much liberal legislation accomplished to curb profiteering, high rents and speculation, and to remedy the lack of housing facilities—all involving radical principles to which conservative Boer opinion six years ago would have been utterly antagonistic. The Native Affairs act, protecting the negro workers, is one of the most important advances ever made in native policy.

General Smuts, the Premier, on the last night of the session announced that assets held by the custodian of enemy property amounted to about £10,000,000, but, although the peace treaty gave the right to retain such funds for payment to the Reparations Commission, the Government considered that to do so would be practically confiscation. The fund, he said, would be held by South Africa as a loan from the German owners for a term of thirty years, the Government paying the German owners 4 per cent. interest.

### CANADA

By a decision of the Board of Railway Commissioners, railroad companies are granted substantial increases in rates. These became effective on Sept. 13. To requests from all over the country that the Government suspend the order until interested bodies had presented and argued an appeal before the Cabinet, an official announcement was made that such action would not be taken. The Government, however, promised to allow the hearing of appeals in cases where unusual circumstances or hardships were shown, and to order return of excess rates paid should any such appeals be decided favorably.

Objection to the new rates is particu-

larly strong in the West, where it is felt that the grain crop, now in movement, will have to bear a heavy proportion. Manufacturing and industrial concerns in the East are also strong in their protests. The press generally takes the ground that the increases are initially too heavy. Admitting that there is need of greater revenue for the Government railways particularly, which otherwise would have to apply to Parliament for special grants to meet prospectively heavy deficits, the main argument of all objectors is that the rates will add enormously to the surpluses being piled up by the one private railway of note, the Canadian Pacific. This is admitted to some degree in the judgment of the Railway Commissioners, as issued by Frank Carvell, the Chief Commissioner. The Canadian Pacific, it is estimated, will add some \$65,000,000 to its gross earnings and from four to fifteen millions to its net—the figures varying according to the estimated returns on the various bases on which statisticians work out the rates.

The freight rate increases are 40 per cent. in Eastern Canada and 35 in Western Canada until Dec. 31. After that date the increases are reduced to 35 and 30 per cent., respectively.

Simultaneously with the increases in freight rates the passenger rates all over the country are advanced 20 per cent., so long as they do not exceed 4 cents a mile. This increase is effective only to Dec. 31. After that date, and for the six months from Jan. 1, 1921, a 10 per cent. increase is authorized. Following July 1, 1921, passenger rates return to those in force before Sept. 13, 1920. An increase of 50 per cent. in sleeping and parlor car rates and an increase of 20 per cent. in the rate on excess baggage are allowed. The rate for carrying coal is increased from 10 to 20 cents a ton.

Unofficial estimates place the indirect additional cost to the Canadian public at from \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000. Mr. Carvell as well as Dr. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways, and other members of the Government, in defending the in-

creases, stand on the ground that if the now consolidated Government railway system is to get a good start it is absolutely essential that it shall be allowed these increases. That being the case, the country could not take the position that discrimination should be shown against its only rival, the Canadian Pacific Railway. Such a course, they argue, would be a reflection upon the probity and honor of Canada. The issue looms large in the several Federal by-election contests, pending as this is written, the results of which are expected to decide the Government for or against an early general election.

W. E. Raney, Attorney General in the Farmer-Labor Government of Ontario, and the only man in that Government who was not affiliated with either of its parties at the time of its formation, has caused considerable discussion by an address at the Canadian Bar Association, in which he advocated, among other changes, the abolition of appeals to the Imperial Privy Council. The Attorney General, whose loyalty to the throne and the empire is not questioned,

has thus given encouragement to many who argue that Canadian courts should be the final place of appeal for Canadian cases, except those which might arise as between two provinces. Questions of provincial boundaries or constitutional rights and the like could not, it is pointed out, be settled impartially in courts whose judiciary was drawn from the various provinces themselves. The same thing would apply to disagreements between the Dominion and the provinces. Mr. Raney, in developing his argument, said that "under the new order which is now here, Canada will in the future amend her own Constitution and make her own treaties. The issues of peace and war for Canada will be determined both actually and technically at Ottawa, and the Governor General of Canada will be appointed by the King on the nomination of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada. \* \* \* Canada has elected definitely in favor of membership in the League of Nations, and, by that course, she has elected in favor of autonomy and against imperial federation. In assuming the rights of nationhood, Canada must accept the responsibilities."

## The Rapid Recovery of France

### M. Tardieu's Story of Wonderful Progress in Devastated Areas—The Republic's Foreign Policy

#### FRANCE

ALL France exulted over the Polish victories against the Bolsheviks and joined in the congratulations sent to Marshal Pilsudski and to the brilliant French officers, especially to General Weygand, who had helped so effectively to bring about the success of the Polish arms. The Paris Temps on Aug. 22 lauded the foreign policy—especially the Russian and Polish policy—supported by M. Millerand, the French Premier. Many voices had been raised against the danger of independent action, of isolation, of the alienation of Great Britain following the recognition of the Government of General Wrangel in South Russia, and the active support of Poland in the crisis

brought about by the previous triumphs of the Red armies. In the official note sent by Secretary Colby to the Italian Ambassador France joyously hailed the justification of this policy, and in the triumphs of the newly reorganized Polish armies she found new justification.

The Government also found gratification in the attitude of French labor. The action of the British "Council of Labor" in sending two delegates, Mr. Adamson and Mr. Gosling, to Paris in an attempt to unite the British and French workers in common action against the policy of intervention in the affairs of Russia by support of the Poles, and against all war in general, met with failure through the action of the Government in expelling



these British delegates. The General Confederation of Labor, it is true, issued a manifesto protesting against this expulsion. It showed solidarity with the Government, however, in charging M. Léon Jouhaux, its President, to work at the International Trade Union Congress at Amsterdam for the independence of both Poland and Russia, not merely in favor of Russia, as the British delegates, representing a pro-Bolshevist trend of labor opinion in England, had advocated. The confederation also pronounced against Bolshevism from without by an anti-Bolshevist motion voted on Aug. 24 by the council, which declared firm opposition to Lenin's policies. M. Jouhaux, as General Secretary of the confederation, and M. Dumoulye, as Assistant Secretary, the two most influential labor leaders in France, were outspoken in their refusal to allow Lenin to dictate the policy of French labor.

In "The Latest Facts About France," a résumé by M. André Tardieu, former French High Commissioner to the United States, an extremely encouraging account was given of the rapid progress made by France toward economic reconstruction in the areas devastated by the German armies. There is a fascination about the long series of statistical figures which stretch out like miniature armies bound for victory. The picture given has both its dark and its light side; sombre is the prospect unrolled by the heading, "What We Have Lost," but the view unfolded under "What We Have Restored" is full of hope for France's future.

In actual money value the total amount necessary for reconstruction is estimated at 152,000,000,000 francs. Of a population of nearly 3,000,000 persons driven away over 2,000,000 have returned, making the housing question serious. M. Tardieu shows that nearly 600,000 houses were nearly or wholly destroyed, and that of these 13,000 have been rebuilt, 178,500 repaired, and 46,570 temporary houses constructed and put in use. All these structures, taken together, house 887,000 people. The rest of the dispossessed population have found quarters in undamaged houses.

This is only one feature of the colossal task. Nearly 10,000 acres of land torn up and ravaged by shellfire and military manoeuvres have been cleared and redeemed; nearly 4,000,000 acres have been plowed for first sowing. One hundred and thirty-four cubic meters of trenches have been filled up, and 182,000,000 square meters of barbed wire entanglements have been removed. Of cattle stolen and driven away by the Germans, only a relatively small percentage have been restored. Over 500,000 head of cattle were taken, 367,000 horses and mules, 465,000 sheep and goats. Some 74,000 head of cattle have been replaced, only 4,400 horses and mules, and 43,000 sheep and goats. The situation is further complicated by the lack of shelter for the many animals still needed. The Germans destroyed some 1,400 miles of railway and 1,000 miles of canals. All the destroyed railways have been restored, and others, badly damaged, have been repaired; 485 miles of the destroyed canals have been newly constructed. The industries served by these communications have likewise not been neglected: of 11,500 factories destroyed some 3,500 are now running again and 3,812 are being rebuilt.

It is hard for the outside world, it is hard even for France, to understand as yet the extent of the damage inflicted. M. Millerand, the Premier, returned on Aug. 24 from a tour through the whole area of devastation. This journey was not for him merely a pilgrimage to France's new holy cities, consecrated by suffering; it was a journey undertaken for serious purposes of study and the gaining of first-hand information for the Government's future guidance. With unwearying patience he heard the many complaints of misery only too evident, the innumerable suggestions of the remedies that should be applied. Everywhere he found, nevertheless, the joy of those returned from exile to their own homes, combined with the faith of ultimate restoration. Industry and agriculture were rapidly reviving, the Premier found, but the lack of labor and housing presented a serious problem. On

his return to Paris M. Millerand spoke of his impressions of the people, of "their courage, their gayety, their confidence, which give one real consolation."

In other matters of internal policy the Government followed its trend of fostering and favoring as much as possible, apart from the application of the new tax laws, admittedly heavy, the interests of the nation. Measures to facilitate the transport of coal from Germany and to provide for an ample Winter supply for Paris were taken. By its strong policy toward the General Confederation of Labor, which broke the strike of the railway men in May, the Government had the satisfaction toward the end of August of seeing the radical leaders of the confederation officially discountenanced and the Bolshevik tendencies of these radicals disapproved. The railway organizations, at a congress held on Aug. 22, eliminated their radical leaders. Equally significant was the fact that of the 154 unions in the organization, some sixty absented themselves from the congress, showing that the revolutionary methods adopted in the May strike had greatly weakened the railway unions and alienated the saner elements opposed to "direct action."

The policy of fostering social welfare was further seen in the introduction of a bill early in August to inaugurate a service of State doctors and midwives for expectant mothers. Population statistics showed that there was an increase both in marriages and births. More than \$5,000,000 was being expended by the Government Ministry of Public Health on public hygiene, and more than \$20,000,000 for relief of the sick. Dr. Calmette, Assistant Director of the Pasteur Institute, pointed out that the Government was losing a great opportunity to improve the sanitation of the reconstructed areas, which were being rebuilt according to the old plans.

The movement for a six-day week of labor has been taken up with great enthusiasm by restaurants and newspapers in Paris. By arrangement among themselves the owners have made it possible for a certain number of restaurants to be closed every Sunday. A six-

day newspaper bill has been introduced in the French Chamber. Considerable opposition has arisen, on the other hand, in different French cities against the enforcement of the eight-hour working day—not on the ground that this day is too long, but because it is too short, giving the workers no opportunity to increase their earnings. A novel strike occurred in a village of Compiègne on Aug. 25, where a group of 250 reconstruction workers laid down their tools on this account.

A semi-official communiqué issued on Sept. 15 stated that President Deschanel would undoubtedly be obliged to resign on account of ill-health. The President suffered a slight apoplectic stroke at the time of his mysterious fall from a moving train at night, and has since been unable to attend to his official duties. The communiqué added that the question of the Presidency would be taken up at the Cabinet meeting on Sept. 17.

Great public interest was shown in the visit of the American Knights of Columbus to France to present the statue of Lafayette to the Alsatian city of Metz. The delegation of the Knights, headed by Supreme Knight Flaherty, arrived in Paris on Aug. 16. After visiting the various points of interest and taking an automobile tour through the region of the former battlefield, the delegation went to Metz, where the statue was presented on Aug. 21. The delegation was accompanied by General Mangin.

The ceremony at Metz was imposing. The city was decorated with American flags, and the day was celebrated as a universal holiday. Five thousand troops formed a guard of honor and thousands of civilians crowded the park sloping down to the Moselle where the statue was placed, draped in silk. Around the platform stood 3,000 children in native costume. After the veil had been drawn aside, Supreme Knight Flaherty presented the statue. He reminded those assembled of Pershing's famous words, "Lafayette, we are here," and added: "Lafayette, we are still here." The statue was dedicated by Martin H. Carmody, and was accepted by the Mayor of Metz and representatives of the various

departments. Following this ceremony Marshal Foch was presented with a Marshal's baton by Mr. Flaherty, who described General Foch as "the ideal Christian soldier" and as "the greatest son of France and the warmest friend of America." The Marshal replied in appropriate words, declaring that the same spirit shown by Lafayette in going to America had led America's armies to France.

The problem of administering Alsace is receiving much serious thought. A recommendation was made to the Government on Aug. 28 urging that no effort be made to prohibit the teaching of German in the public schools and that the Alsatian dialect be recognized, but also that a serious attempt be made to teach the people the beauties of the French tongue and the French literature. To bridge the difficulty brought about by the previous teaching in German, the Government decided to commence the

teaching of French as soon as the pupils enter school, and to defer the teaching of German to the fourth year of the curriculum. To keep the dialect alive, it was stated, an open-air Alsatian theatre had been opened by M. Eugène Gerber at Dambech.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified Germany on Aug. 22 that the newly appointed German Ambassador to France, Wilhelm Mayer von Kaufbeuren, would be acceptable to the Government.

It was announced on Aug. 15 that the French Protectorate Government had granted, from the proceeds of the new Morocco loan, 4,700,000 francs (nearly \$500,000) for the construction of additional French, Moorish and Jewish schools in Tangier. France has already spent millions of francs for education here, in common with Spain, but so far the British Government has done nothing for local education, and English children in the international colony have been taught in French schools.

## Italian Syndicalists' Seizure of Factories

### Change in Spanish Ministry

#### ITALY.

**T**HE National Labor Convention at Milan, representing about 1,200,000 members of the various unions, guilds, chambers and syndicates which go to make up Italy's General Confederation of Labor, cast a ballot on Sept. 12 which represented 650,000 votes against Sovietism and 450,000 votes for Sovietism.

On the following day the representatives of labor, combined with the representatives of the official Socialist Party, cast a vote of 591,000 to 245 for the syndicalization and not the sovietization of Italian industry, and by subsequent resolutions voted that the movement should be confined for the present to those metallurgic plants which were already sequestered and being operated by the workers according to the Soviet plan, and presented as a politico-economic measure to Parliament, the calling of which was actively urged.

The workers in question were, moreover, ordered to break off all negotiations with their former employers, and on no account to surrender the plants. Measures were taken to provide food for the men and raw materials for fabrication, so that the plants might continue to be operated. Technical experts in both the workshops and the business offices, the lack of which had been a serious handicap to Soviet production, were also to be provided.

Thus a movement which, in its inception, was a flagrant violation of the laws of private property, but all along had been declared by the Italian Government and its representatives abroad to be merely "a new form of struggle between capital and labor" with "the character of an economic struggle, inasmuch as it is developing without resort to violence and without bloodshed"—to quote the Italian Ambassador at Washington—be-

came a politico-economic revolution, although limited in area, demanding that Parliament ratify the illegality which the Government had already condoned by inaction.

The region where this extraordinary "economic" experiment was being tried in order to present an accomplished fact to Parliament lies in the valley of the Po. It is the great metallurgic centre of the country. During the war it provided the nation with its material means of combat and was the ultimate objective of every Austro-German offensive. Among the world-famous foundries and factories situated there are the Ansaldo, Fiat, Italia, Gnome, Mont Denis, Bianchi and the Subalpini. They utilize 1,000,000 horse power and employ more than half a million workers. Their products enter into nearly every Italian industry—particularly that of agriculture, which is the chief of all—while their by-products sustain the small manufacturers and artisans throughout the Peninsula.

By Sept. 12 all these plants had been invaded by the workers, sequestered by them and operated by them, so far as lack of raw materials, technical skill, money and business executives would permit; they were being run under established Soviets and with red flags flying over the buildings.

The Government had already declared its neutrality. The Socialists had advised the workers to refrain from all violence unless an attempt were made to drive them from the plants, and the directorates of the plants representing the owners, having in vain appealed to the Government to restore to them their property, had ended in an attempt to negotiate with the workers. Meanwhile, the Soviet movement had spread to other branches, including the chemical and textile industries and to quarries.

The workers have asserted that the movement of sequestration was precipitated by the intention of the directorates to inaugurate a lockout. Both the Government and the workers have declared that the reason for this lockout was "a shortage of raw materials, lack

of coal and the high cost of labor." The directorates have explained that the lockout was to anticipate a general strike, which the Government had confessed to them it dare not face. Recent experience had shown that the transportation of troops might be prevented by strikes on the railways, communications ruptured by strikes in the telegraph and telephone service, while attempts of the local prefects with the carabinieri or even the garrisons at their command to protect the property from the attacks of the men deprived of work, whatever the cause, would be certain to be followed by violence and bloodshed.

So the Government, having condoned the illegality, formally declared its neutrality, defined the movement as purely economic—"a new form of struggle between capital and labor"—which called for no intervention so long as property was not destroyed or lives sacrificed.

There are only two regularly organized parties in Parliament, which is now invited to legislate on the subject—the Socialist Party with 156 Deputies and the Popular or Catholic Party with 101, all out of a total of 508. The Socialists hold no portfolios in the Cabinet; the Popular Party holds two: the Treasury with Filippo Meda and Agriculture with Giuseppe Micheli. The Minister of Labor is Arturo Labriola, who calls himself a Reformist Socialist, but who has no connection with the official Socialist organization, which controls the 156 seats and at the head of which is Lodovico d'Aragona.

The Socialist Party through its organ, the *Avanti* of Milan, and through the speeches of d'Aragona had condemned the Soviet movement as inviting anarchy and threatening to destroy the great social and economic fabric which the Socialists had been so earnestly building up. This condemnation was principally due to the reports they had received from their mission in Russia. But within the official Socialist Party was a large element which believed in a Soviet régime. It was they, forming the Syndicate of Metal Workers, who were enabled to invoke direct action in the



metallurgic region then prevailing over the Federation of Metal Workers, who believed in an absorption of the industries by legislative methods.

It was the federation's program, therefore, on which Parliament would be asked to act and not that of the Syndicate, although the Soviets established by the Syndicate would be continued as an illustrative experiment calculated to demonstrate the full control of industries by the workers.

But agriculture and not iron and steel work is the paramount industry in Italy. In this field there are also labor organizations, principally Catholic peasants, who have a varied program, from State operation of the great estates to their division among the peasants, and their working on the co-operative basis. Nearly all these organizations are more or less affiliated with the Popular Party, whose chiefs hold the portfolios of Treasury and Agriculture. Their program has always denounced direct action.

When the Giolitti Government came in last June, after a long period marked by attempts on the part of the Nitti Government to rule by Ministerial decrees owing to the impossibility to legislate on account of the strong and organized Socialist opposition, the official Socialist press ceased its propaganda for a political revolution and continued to argue only for an industrial revolution. In this way its demonstrative strikes enjoyed a certain immunity from the Government, particularly if conducted without violence, while the strikes inspired by the political revolutionists and the anarchists under Enrico Malatesta continued to be put down with a strong but gradually weakening hand. As a quid pro quo for non-political activity, the Socialist Deputies managed to secure the passage of a law confiscating war profits, although it was pointed out by the representatives of the great industries in the Chamber that such a law, if enforced, would deprive many industries of their capital, which was represented to a large extent by the so-called war profits.

This was the complicated situation which representatives of the General

Confederation of Labor and the official Socialists, on Sept. 13, demanded that the Government place before Parliament. The said Government was still neutral toward the violation of the rights of private property, as indulged in by a Soviet régime over a limited, yet most vital, region of Italian industry.

On Sept. 7 the hill towns of Tuscany were subjected to a severe series of earthquake shocks, the repercussions of which continued for several days. Although not so devastating as that which destroyed Messina in December, 1908, with the loss of 96,000 lives and the annihilation of property valued at \$1,300,000, it was as severe as the Ayezzano earthquake of January, 1915. As late as Sept. 15 deaths to the number of 500 had been reported and 20,000 persons had been rendered homeless, while 100 towns and villages had been wrecked. The region included parts of the provinces of Placenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna and Forli—an area of about 7,920 square miles with a population of 2,500,000, extending from beyond the Apennines westward to the Etrurian coast. Near Spezia, on the coast, a new volcano appeared; the ducal palace at Massa-Carrara, once the Summer residence of Napoleon's sister, was seriously damaged; at Pistoja the dome of the historic Church of the Madonna del Umilta fell; there were avalanches in the Alpine districts; there was a settling in the Gulf of Genoa.

On Aug. 25 the Constitution for the Italian colony of Cirenaica, North Africa, proclaimed on Nov. 2, 1919, was promulgated, with mutual ceremonies indulged in by Arabs and Italians. The document was similar to that already applied to the sister region of Tripolitania—equal public and private rights, with a Parliament and appointed executive government—but, while the first document attempted to conserve the former Turkish laws, the second paid more attention to the tribal traditions of the natives.

The Adriatic question, which was under direct negotiation between the Governments of Rome and Belgrade, received a new complicating element on

Sept. 9, when Gabriel d'Annunzio proclaimed Fiume an independent State. The National Council of Fiume, unable to agree with the poet-Captain's ideas of a Constitution, resigned amid the local festivities of inauguration. The action of d'Annunzio was said to pave a way by which Italy might secure Fiume at some later date, according to the principle of self-determination, should the Fiumians vote for union with the peninsula, and at the same time preserve the Treaty of London intact for present diplomatic exigencies.

**THE VATICAN**—On Monday, Aug. 23, the members of the American section of the International Council of Women, on their way to the Christiania convention, were received in private audience by the Pope. On Aug. 28, his Holiness, in an address to the visiting American Knights of Columbus at an extraordinary audience, praised their work in America, "which boasts liberty and reciprocal respect as the basis of its Constitution," and said that it was not strange that Knights should think of spreading "their sphere of action outside the confines of their own beloved country and extending it to Italy," for, he added:

Unfortunately, here under our very eyes an odious propaganda aims to deprive the children so near us of the most precious birthright left them by their ancestors—the Catholic faith. Youth is attracted by sport toward organizations which, while satisfying this inclination, aim to undermine in the young the precious treasure of Catholic principles. Noble Knights, you are not unaware of the propaganda to which we allude. We hope you will oppose in Rome also your good propaganda to that which we deplore is so widely diffused in this city, the soul of Catholicism.

On Aug. 26 Mgr. Cherubini, the Apostolic Nunzio at Belgrade, forwarded to the Vatican a memorial drawn up by the Croatian Roman Catholic clergy pointing out that, since the Vatican had not seen fit to support the national aspirations of the Croats against the policy of the Italian Government, the Croatian clergy would be obliged to separate themselves from the Holy See. Among other petitions of the Croats recently received by the Vatican was one asking for

the abolition of celibacy among the clergy.

A dispatch from Prague, dated Sept. 10, stated that the Pope had consented to the separation of Church and State in Czechoslovakia, but did not desire to have the matter form a subject for debate in Parliament.

## SPAIN

Owing to the resignation of Señor Bergamin from the portfolio of the Interior and the refusal of Señor Bugallal to take it over, the Dato Ministry resigned on Aug. 30 and was recast two days later by the same Premier with the following slate:

Premier and Minister of Marine—EDUARDO DATO.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Marquis DE LEMAM.

Minister of Finance—LORENZO PASQUAL.

Minister of Justice—EZEKIEL ORDONEZ.

Minister of War—Viscount D'EZA.

Minister of Public Instruction—Marquis PORTAGO.

Minister of Public Works—LUIS ESPADA.

Minister of Labor—CARLOS CANAL.

Señor Ordóñez and Marquis Portago were the only newcomers in the Ministry, succeeding, respectively, Count de Bugallal and Emilio Ortuno. Premier Dato announced that there would be no changes in the Government's program.

The Catalan question continued to figure as Spain's Irish problem, and the labor situation continued acute. It was particularly serious in Bilbao, Ferrol, Madrid, Barcelona and Rio Tinto. The former Civil Governor of Barcelona, Count de Salvatierra, was murdered for the alleged reason of his repressive measures against the labor unions, which earned the good-will of the employers. These measures were deemed futile, however, as the Public Prosecutor, in a circular letter to the legal authorities, complained that the committees were still able to collect funds.

**MOROCCO**—Spanish military operations in Morocco are proceeding slowly, but surely and efficiently. Several native chiefs of rebellious tribes have submitted. The column which set out from

Larache by Sept. 4 had occupied Zautum, where it intrenched, while detachments constructed a blockhouse at Beni-gorfa, and other blockhouses, protecting the bivouacs. The next move, it was stated, would be upon Wazan, the sacred

town of the Moroccans, where the Grand Sherif resides, and where the Sherifian forces have an important centre. These military operations in Morocco cost Spain about \$9,000,000 for the first six months of the year.

## Scandinavia's Cure for General Strikes

### How the Suffering Public Revolted

#### NORWAY AND DENMARK

THE recent developments in Norway and Denmark, which have discredited the Moscow reports of a revolution at Trondhjem and the declaration of a Socialist Republic for Norway, witness again the Bolshevik blindness to the effect of national traits in determining national action in Scandinavian countries. These developments centre in the national movement, begun in Denmark and patterned after by Norway, there called "Samfundhjaelpen," or "Community Aid." "Samfund" is a very expressive word in Danish-Norwegian, signifying community, society and national unity. "Hjaelp" means not only help but also succor, remedy against. The organization of this movement is hailed with great satisfaction by the leading Scandinavian press, as assuring relief from the long plague of strikes, apathy on the part of workmen and consequent under-production.

This Community Aid movement came into being with the great seamen's and dockworkers' strike in Copenhagen in March, when the Radical Left, the Socialists and other friends of the dismissed Zahle Ministry called a general strike to force their politics through. The threatened crippling of all industry and agriculture in Denmark called into action the farmers' co-operative societies throughout the country, who placed their services at the disposal of the authorities; the latter promised protection to these volunteer workers, with military force if necessary. Business men and brainworkers joined in, with the result that "the general strike was instantly stricken down."

After that a solid organization was formed in every parish to provide against such another emergency, and at a convention, held in July at Copenhagen, the union of parish chiefs arranged to support Community Aid in the future, whenever there should come a labor stagnation—through great strikes or lock-outs, blockades or boycotts—whose effects are destructive to the functions of necessary industries. Thus Community Aid became a national organization of both men and women of all ages, who hold themselves ready as volunteers for all sorts of necessary work. Beginning with farmers, the movement now comprises people of all social conditions. If the police find the situation getting out of hand, the military takes over the protection of volunteer workers against violence.

In Norway, too, the viking temper of the long-suffering public was aroused to form a similar organization. In Bergen the striking laborers forbade the burial of the dead. One of their own number was the first to be hit by this decree. A laborer was denied by his comrades the right to fill up his deceased father's grave after the body had been lowered. Public indignation was intense; the worm turned; and the Norse word for worm means also serpent and dragon.

Norway's Community Aid is established in association with the Norse Farmers' League, the Freighters' and Shipowners' League of Norway, the Industrial League of Norway, the Handworkers' Union of Norway, the Mercantile League of Norway and the Bank Union (bankforening) of Norway. These organizations pledge themselves to stand

together "to check and repel irresponsible men who wish to cripple the community, stop its pulsation." There, as in Denmark, the Community Aid takes over necessary work at the solicitation of the public authorities and is protected by the same. In the words of a Christiania editorial: "This is not strike-breaker work. It is simply self-defense on the part of society."

As results of the formation of the Norwegian Community Aid, the fighting spirit of the laborers is decidedly less pronounced than heretofore. A railroad strike which had threatened to tie up traffic was arranged about the middle of August by representatives of the Government and the Central Organization of Skilled Workers. The railroad men acceded to the Government demand that they resume work pending the issue of further negotiations. The coast traffic strike, which was declared in sympathy with the railroad men, was consequently called off. The protracted strike of municipal workers at Bergen collapsed, the workers making overtures for negotiations.

The new railroad strike threatens to tie up all the Norwegian railroads for some time to come, but there are signs of improvement. The Bolsheviks and Left Socialists who foment such disturbances have no foothold in politics. Everywhere in the municipal and Parliamentary elections they have been turned out or reduced to minorities. Of the 126 members of the Storting the Socialists number only eighteen, and most of these are moderates who fiercely oppose Bolshevism. The Norwegian Ministry, which was formed in June, consists of eight Conservative and two Liberal members. The holding of the Twelfth Interparliamentary Conference of the three Northern countries at Christiania, in the latter part of August, is cited both in the Scandinavian and British press as proof of the calmness and stability of the institutions of Norway.

As Norway imports nearly all her foodstuffs and many of her other necessities of life, her difficulties are aggravated by the depreciation of her currency. Most of her imports come from

the United States, and as the supply was cut off during the war, she was compelled to draw largely upon her reserve stock. However, extensive coal mines are being developed in the extreme northern part of Norway, over and above the wealth she is developing in the "white coal" of her waterfalls. Work continues on the plans to convey hydro-electric light, heat and power to Denmark by means of aerial or submarine cables. The banks urge the people to thrift and hard work, and since Aug. 19 the Norwegian Government has prohibited the importation of luxuries. Under this head are included passenger automobiles, motorcycles, toys, floor coverings, precious-stone jewelry, pianos, gramophones and other musical instruments, and the finer grades of cotton, silk and wool textiles, dresses, glassware, porcelain, furniture, furs and fur clothing, footwear, watches, &c.

From Sept. 8 to 18 the capital of Norway was dominated by the quinquennial convention of the International Council of Women. The Storting Building was put at the disposal of the 350 women delegates, of whom the great majority were English and American. The Storting allowed 50,000 kroner to go with the donations of the meeting, and Christiania showed great public and private hospitality. Mrs. Nico Hambro, President of the Norse Women's National Council, bade the guests welcome in English. The Norse Second Vice President, Miss Kirsten Holst, greeted them in French. The First Vice President was to greet them in German, but the German women did not attend, preferring to stand aside so long as Germany is not invited into the League of Nations. Foremost among the foreign guests, of course, were the directors, who are Presidents of the various national councils. The President of the International Council of Women is Lady Aberdeen. The President of the American National Council of Women is Mrs. Philip North Moore of St. Louis, formerly President of the American Federation of Women's Clubs. The convention at Christiania had thirteen women representatives from South America, besides delegates from



Mexico, Portugal, Turkey, Ukraine, Tasmania, Canada and all the chief nations of Europe. The subjects discussed included education, economic and industrial problems which concern women, national well-being, ethical standards and the League of Nations.

On Sept. 8 a cablegram from Copenhagen to the Danish Legation at Washington, D. C., announced that the amendment to the Danish Constitution incorporating North Slesvig into Denmark was ratified in a general referendum, 613,471 voting yes against 19,490 voting no. The Danish Constitution requires that an amendment must be ratified by at least 45 per cent. of the total number of persons entitled to vote. As 47.5 per cent. voted for the Slesvig amendment, North Slesvig became a part of the Kingdom of Denmark. The Danish Socialists were in favor of the incorporation of North Slesvig, but dissatisfied with the constitutional amendment for political reasons; so the party abstained from voting.

### SWEDEN

Encouraged by the enforcement of prohibition in America, a Government committee appointed in 1913 to consider the liquor question made a report at the end of August, recommending the prohibition of all drinks having an alcoholic content exceeding 2.8 per cent. Moreover, the committee proposed that absolute prohibition be submitted to a national referendum and made effective if favored by three-fifths of the electorate.

Since 1913 Sweden has had a law regulating the sale and use of liquor. Allowances of liquor are thereby made according to one's income and domestic respon-

sibilities. Non-transferable coupons allowing four liters of "hard liquor" a month are issued to a man, which coupons are withheld if he is convicted of illegal use of them. Three drinks of "hard liquor" are allowed at a meal, to cost not less than 50 cents. If through use of liquor the head of a family jeopardizes his rent, the authorities put him on short beer rations until he makes good his overdraft of the family exchequer. The stopping of liquor imports during the war practically amounted to prohibition, but it gave rise to innumerable illicit stills.

The death of Anders Zorn, at the age of 60 years, removed Sweden's foremost artist. His work is reviewed on Pages 125-6.

### ICELAND

The Danish Legation at Washington announced on Sept. 11 that King Christian of Denmark had just appointed a new Minister to his own country, namely, a Minister to represent Iceland at the Danish Court. Denmark, in 1918, voluntarily recognized Iceland as a free and sovereign State, united with Denmark only by the same King. The Icelanders are absolutely independent in home affairs, but are represented by Denmark in foreign affairs; they are, however, entitled to send out their own representatives when special circumstances render it expedient.

Last year the Danish Government appointed as its Minister to Iceland Mr. Boeggild, former Danish Consul General in New York. Now Iceland will have as its own Minister to Denmark the Icelandic lawyer Svein Bjoernsson.

## The Low Countries

### American Victory in Olympic Games

#### BELGIUM

**A**MERICAN athletes showed their supremacy in the track and field events of the Olympic games at Antwerp, and in the final score made 212 points against 105 for Finland, the nearest competitor. The other nations scored

as follows: Sweden, 95; England, 85; France, 34; Italy, 28; South Africa, 24; Canada, 10; Norway, 10; Denmark, 9; Esthonia, 8; New Zealand, 5; Belgium, 5; Australia, 5; Czechoslovakia, 3; Holland, 2, and Luxemburg, 1. While the athletes of the United States proved

their unquestionable superiority in running, jumping, pole vaulting and weight throwing, still it was impressively demonstrated that the European countries, especially the Scandinavian countries, have greatly improved in athletic prowess.

The project of a defensive alliance of France and Belgium was signed by Marshal Foch and the Belgian Chief of Staff, but on Aug. 31 it was decided to limit its scope to an agreement not considered absolutely binding on either party, resembling the *entente cordiale* between France and England before the war; that is to say, a moral obligation which can be repudiated by the Parliament of either State.

Belgian railway workers, like other laborers in many parts of the world, sympathized with the Bolsheviks during their struggle with the Poles and decided to prevent the transportation from or through Belgium of troops or munitions intended for Poland. General Janson, Minister of War, and Paul Hymans, the Foreign Minister, resigned because they differed on this point from their Socialist colleagues in the three-party Cabinet, but General Janson withdrew his resignation the next day on account of the serious situation it might cause, both Chambers having adjourned.

Previous to adjournment the Belgian

Chamber, by a unanimous vote, passed a law providing for a bonus for all Belgian soldiers, regardless of rank. Each soldier will receive 75 francs for each month of service at the front between Aug. 1, 1914, and Nov. 11, 1918, and 50 francs for each month of service at the rear or while interned as a prisoner of war.

## HOLLAND

The tercentenary celebration of the preparations of the Pilgrim Fathers to sail for America began in Holland on Aug. 29 and lasted until Sept. 2. Memorial services were held in Leyden and Amsterdam and the delegates made a boat trip from Leyden to Delfshaven along the picturesque canal that the Pilgrim Fathers themselves traveled 300 years ago. On the last day the delegates left Holland for Plymouth. Queen Wilhelmina received the American Minister and officers at her Summer palace, Het Loo, in honor of the occasion.

The former Kaiser recently built a wall of logs sawed by himself around the place where he works, so as to avoid the gaze of possible onlookers. This not being sufficient, he ordered a high fence built. When a Prussian Junker visited him while at work chopping down a tree he is said to have suddenly exclaimed as the chips fell, "This is the way heads will fly when I return to Germany."

## German Efforts at Treaty Fulfillment

### Labor Troubles in Silesia

#### GERMANY

WITH the payment by the German Government of 100,000 francs to Charles Laurent, the French Ambassador in Berlin, on Sept. 9, as indemnity for the losses and damages sustained by France through the destruction on Aug. 26 of the French Consulate in Breslau by a mob of German Nationalists and Anti-Semites, the principal step was taken toward smoothing over an incident that came near causing a diplomatic break between France and Germany.

The mob which wrecked the French Consulate, and the Polish as well, had been inflamed by refugees from Upper Silesia who told of alleged outrages perpetrated upon the German inhabitants of that region by the Poles. Then came a report that Polish regular troops were attacking Oppeln and killing German citizens in the streets. The Pan-German and Anti-Semitic elements raised the cry, "To the Polish Consulate!" and the raid on the Consulates and several Jewish shops followed. Prompt



TEMPORARY HOMES ERECTED IN THE WAR-RUINED VILLAGE OF SAMENKOMATE, BELGIUM, BY THE KING ALBERT FUND  
(Photo American Red Cross)

apologies were made by Dr. Simons, the German Foreign Minister, to the French Government, and later the payment of the indemnity and arrangements for diplomatic satisfaction were worked out.

All through the month there was unrest in Upper Silesia and along the German-Polish frontier, due to racial clashes complicated by attempts on the part of German workers to prevent the transportation of military supplies to the Poles for their war with Russia. The contents of many of the trains, when held up, were found to be destined not for the Poles, but for the troops of occupation in the plebiscite districts; but the agitated masses were not inclined to make fine distinctions, so trouble followed. In a clash at Kattowitz on Aug. 17 between French troops and a crowd one soldier was killed, while nine civilians were slain and twenty-six wounded. This skirmish occurred in connection with a strike called by the miners and other workers of Upper Silesia against the continuation of the Russo-Polish war.

These troubles in the Silesian mining country reduced the output of the coal so much needed by the German Government in order to enable it to live up to the terms of the Spa agreement and deliver 2,000,000 tons a month to the Allies. Consequently, the German peace delegation in Paris on Sept. 9 handed a note to the Council of Ambassadors directing attention to the Upper Silesian situation

and pointing out that further disturbances there would make it almost impossible to furnish the September quota. It appears that the Ruhr output alone is not expected to be large enough to make it possible to dispense altogether with the Silesian coal. On Sept. 3 the French Government announced that the German coal deliveries up to Aug. 28 had reached 1,500,000, and probably 1,600,000 tons at the end of the month. On Sept. 5 Otto Hué, the leader of the German union miners, told *The New York Times* Berlin correspondent that the monthly quota had been fully delivered, with the exception of some 20,000 to 30,000 tons coming to Italy, which could not be delivered because of transportation difficulties in Silesia.

At a conference in London on Aug. 24, attended by Andres Hermes, the German Food Minister; Charles A. McCurdy, the British Food Controller, and representatives of France, Belgium and Italy, a small Anglo-German technical committee was formed to examine Germany's most urgent food needs and to work out plans to see that the Ruhr miners got the increased rations necessary to enable them to speed up production.

The miners' union continued to urge the nationalization of the mines. This contention was supported by a report issued on Sept. 3 by the special Government commission investigating the feasibility of socializing German industry,

which recommended the socialization of the coal mines. No immediate action is expected on the commission's recommendation, but force is lent to its conclusions by data compiled by Dr. Kuczensky, director of the Statistical Bureau of the Schoenberg district of Greater Berlin, showing that the mine owners' profits had risen from 1.20 marks per ton before the war to 39 marks, the ratio of profits to wages now being 3 to 5, instead of 1 to 5. Even in the Ruhr district the price of a ton of coal is 210 marks, compared with 12 marks in pre-war days.

Further steps toward the demobilization of the wartime economic machine were taken through the abolition of Government regulation of trading in vegetables and fruits and the decision by the Economic Committee of the Reichstag, by a vote of 16 to 12, to abolish the restrictions on trading in potatoes. The crop was reported to be good, and it was said that the cities would have no difficulty in laying in their reserves of some 38,000,000 bushels for the coming Winter. The Socialist committee members opposed the lifting of the ban on free trading, on the ground that the agrarians would be sure to raise their prices to excessive figures.

On Sept. 9 a Berlin report said the harvest in Prussia was officially estimated as considerably less than that of last year. An official report on German sugar production for 1919-20, made public Aug. 18, showed a drop to 7,077,585 double zentners (a double zentner equals about 220 pounds) from 13,245,799 double zentners in the preceeding season. When the official prices for live cattle were fixed at from 40 to 60 marks less per hundredweight than those prevailing up to Aug. 11 there was renewed clamor by the agrarian interests for the abolition of maximum prices in general, but the Food Ministry could not be moved to this step, particularly in view of the experience of Baden, which province, in defiance of the fact that it was invading a field of jurisdiction reserved for the National Government, had done away with the regulation of meat prices and had seen them mount rapidly.

Attempts by employers to collect the 10 per cent. income tax imposed upon workers' wages by the Government caused a great deal of trouble in various parts of the country, particularly in Württemberg, where general strikes were called to emphasize the workers' resistance; all industry in Stuttgart was tied up for some days at the behest of the agitators, who declared that the German workers were justified in refusing to pay this income tax because the Government had made no serious effort to collect the huge profits made by capitalists and war profiteers. Late reports indicate, however, that the firm stand of the Government was effective, and that the taxes were being collected.

The scene of the usual monthly "establishing of a Soviet Republic" was laid this time in the little factory town of Cöthen in Anhalt, and in Velbert, Rhenish Prussia, where groups of persons, called Communists by the conservative press and branded as provocative agents by the Socialist papers, seized the local Governmental powers on Aug. 20, only to be chased away the next day by the Security Police without any casualties.

In the meantime, the general disarmament of the civilian population decreed by the Reichstag over the opposition of the Junker Nationalists and the Independent Socialists proceeded under the direction of Dr. Peters, a former Cabinet member appointed as National Commissioner for Disarmament. President Ebert, in an appeal issued Aug. 24, reminded the people that failure to co-operate in this work would endanger the fulfillment of the Peace Treaty and incur the penalties mentioned in the Spa agreement. All military weapons, and even hunting rifles, are covered by the law, but shotguns seem to be excepted. Speedy delivery of the banned arms was encouraged by the announcement that a premium of 100 marks would be paid for each rifle up to Oct. 10, and of 50 marks until Oct. 20. After the latter date no premiums are to be paid, but amnesty for the illegal possession of arms will continue until Nov. 1, which





ONE OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHERE GERMANY HAS GATHERED THE LIVE STOCK WHICH MUST BE TURNED OVER TO THE ALLIES UNDER THE TERMS OF THE PEACE TREATY

(© Keystone View Company)

is the last day for voluntary delivery. The local communities are to accept the arms and destroy them, according to instructions from Berlin. On Sept. 10 it was estimated that the premiums would cost the Government about 200,000,000 marks, although deliveries were not as rapid as had been expected of the some 1,500,000 army rifles and thousands of machine guns still in the hands of civilians. The Allied Commission of Control in Germany reported on the same date satisfactory progress in collecting and destroying these weapons, especially as respects the cannon and machine guns, which were being made useless at the rate of 1,000 a week. The old gun metal is to be used in manufacturing agricultural machinery.

The Independent Socialist and Communist leaders protested that the disarmament law would be used merely to disarm the working people, while the reactionary bourgeoisie would be allowed to retain its weapons for another attempt to overthrow any Government not to its liking. Force was lent to these protests by the publicity given in the German press to the doings of a Bavarian forestry official named Escherich, a close

friend of Dr. Kahr, the Bavarian Premier, who had begun early in the Summer the linking together of all the semi-military bourgeois organizations in a body dubbed the "Orgesch." This group of armed men, embracing the supposedly disbanded units of the Home Defense Guards, especially in Bavaria, and nearly all other similar bodies, was found to be connected with the Army Intelligence Service through the spy headquarters in Magdeburg, which also worked hand in glove with the newly organized Pinkerton Detective Bureau, a sort of strikebreaking and general spying agency responsible for several false reports of alleged intrigues between German Communists and Independents and Russian Bolsheviks. Herr Escherich issued a statement that his organization was perfectly loyal and was only intended to support the Government if trouble with the Reds should materialize, but the outcry against the "Orgesch" was so strong that Herr Severing, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, decreed on Aug. 17 its dissolution in all Prussia; the other German States, with the probable exception of Bavaria, were expected to do likewise.

A realignment of German political parties may result from the dissension in the ranks of the Independent Socialists caused by the altered attitude of their delegates to the Third International at Moscow. These delegates returned bearing the terms upon which the party would be admitted to the Bolshevik-dominated International. The terms included absolute submission to the edicts of the International in domestic as well as international policies, the throwing out of the so-called conservative leaders, such as Karl Kautsky and Rudolph Hilferding, and an attempt to unite with the numerically insignificant German Communist Party under the latter's name. When these terms were presented to a conference of party officials and deputies in Berlin on Sept. 3 by Delegates Dittmann, Crispian, Dauemig and Stoecker, accompanied by most unfavorable reports by Dittmann and Professor Karl Ballod, a Majority Socialist just returned from several months' research work in Russia for the Government of Latvia, the sentiment of the conference was almost unanimous against accepting the Moscow terms. It was asserted by several of the most radical Independents, including Louise Zietz, that the German party would not admit outside dictation of its affairs, even by the Communist International. No decision was taken by the conference, but a general party convention was called for Oct. 24 to settle the matter. If the Moscow terms are rejected the extreme Left Wing of the Independents is expected to break away and unite with the Communists,

while the moderate Right Wing may join with the Left Wing of the Majority Socialist Party and form the real German Socialist Party of the future, leaving the moderate Majority Socialists to join with the Democrats and the Progressive Wing of the Centre Party, and constitute a sort of centre, opposed on the Right by the Junker Nationalists, the big business People's Party, and the reactionary elements of the Centre Party, and on the Left by the new Socialist Party and the Communists.

Germany continued to maintain neutrality between Poland and Russia, despite the fact that, according to a statement made by Dr. Simons to the Reichstag's Foreign Affairs Committee on Sept. 1, overtures had been made to him by both sides to enter the lists. German workers continued to hold up trains and ships which they alleged were carrying war material to the Poles, and on Sept. 10 the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris decided to protest to the German Government against the stopping of ships bound for Danzig by way of the Kiel Canal. The number of Bolshevik troops driven over the German border and interned, more or less loosely, by the Germans, was put at 128,000 on Sept. 6, when Germany asked the Council of Ambassadors for permission to send more troops into East Prussia to control the situation. The Poles asserted that there were troops enough for that purpose, but that the Germans permitted the Bolsheviks to run at large and raid Polish territory at will. The request was denied by the Council.

## Monarchist Plots on the Danube

### HUNGARY

THE blockade declared against Hungary by the International Trade Union Congress was lifted on Aug. 9, after the leaders had decided that its continuance would be useless. A proclamation issued by the Amsterdam labor executive to the workers of Austria enumerates the reasons why the embargo failed. In the first place, the

statement says, the co-operation of the workers of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia proved inadequate for lack of substantial support from workers in countries without frontiers in common with Hungary. The success of the blockade was expected on the assumption that the workers of Western Europe would exert pressure on their Governments in favor of an inter-

vention against the White Terror. This expectation did not materialize. In the second place, the Magyar working class was so exhausted by suffering from the White Terror that it was unable to act with the workers of neighbor States. In the third place, the failure of the blockade is due to the indirect support accorded to the terrorist régime by some of the Entente Governments desirous of using the armed forces of Hungary for their own ends.

In the course of the trial of the assassins of Count Stephen Tisza, war Premier of Hungary, who was murdered on Oct. 31, 1918, Stephen Friedrich, ex-Premier and leader of the anti-Semitic extremists, was called as a witness. It is generally understood, however, that Friedrich is the real defendant in a trial which is being forced by the Horthy Government at this juncture chiefly with the purpose of eliminating Friedrich from the political scene. It is said that Regent Horthy aspires to the crown of Hungary and is supported by the majority of the officers' army, but his ambition is thwarted by Friedrich, whose influence is still formidable and who possesses, in the Society of Awakening Hungarians, a powerful political machine. Friedrich favors the candidacy of the Archduke Joseph, while some of his supporters, especially the legitimist group of army officers headed by Colonel Lehar, are for the restoration of Charles IV., now an exile in Switzerland.

The intrigues centring around the impending restoration of monarchy are not openly discussed in the Budapest press, but the political bearing of the Tisza murder trial is fully recognized. Horthy's supporters scored a success when the National Assembly extradited Friedrich to the court. Until then Friedrich had been protected by his right of immunity as a member of the legislative body. However, the outcome of the trial is very dubious; the chief witnesses against Friedrich, the former officers Huettner and Stankovsky, now under indictment as the actual murderers of Tisza, are considered entirely untrustworthy. On the stand Friedrich denied

all knowledge of the plot against Tisza and ridiculed the attempt to implicate him in the case.

A remarkable resolution, introduced by Deputy Budavary, was adopted in the National Assembly with only nine voices dissenting—among them the Counts Apponyi and Andrássy and the Catholic prelate Giesswein. It calls for legislation aiming at the complete disfranchisement of Jews. The following specific measures are suggested: Jews ought to be deprived of the right to own or to lease landed property; they should be allowed to own only one house each; no foreign Jews should be allowed to settle in the country, and those who entered since 1914 should be expelled; no Jews should be allowed to hold positions as teachers, college professors, managers of theatrical enterprises, editors and managers of newspapers, army officers, State officials and diplomatists; no Jews should be admitted to the ranks of the military or the police; no Jew should obtain State contracts; Jews should be forbidden to keep Gentile servants; all Jews suspected of sympathy with Hungary's enemies or of Bolshevistic tendencies should be court-martialed and shot.

## AUSTRIA

In representations made to the Ministers of the Entente Powers Foreign Secretary Renner pointed out that the raid on the Austrian arsenal of Fürstenfeld and the existence of a monarchist recruiting centre at Zalaegerszeg indicated a very real menace to the existence of the Austrian Republic on the part of the militarist Government of Hungary. Renner said that, as the provisions of the Peace Treaty rendered self-defense impossible for Austria, the republic had to seek support from the Entente, especially as the danger from the East prevents internal consolidation of the Austrian State. An official declaration to the press pointed out that, whereas the disarmament of Austria, in accordance with the Treaty of St. Germain, has been carried out, Hungary not only does not disarm, but increases her army to a war footing.

A report submitted to the War Minis-

try by Colonel Koerner clears up the details of the raid on Fürstenfeld. The report describes the raid as a regular military attack conducted on a well-laid plan based on full knowledge of the terrain and fulfilling all strategic requirements. The Hungarians seized the arsenal and the tobacco factory, posted strong guards at the bridge and along the railroad, closed the streets for traffic and occupied the gendarmerie barracks. The loot comprised 121 machine guns, 7,500 rounds of ammunition, 1,938 rifles, 2,336 belts and 456 cartridge-boxes. The raiders were assisted by Captain Berdorfer of the Austrian frontier police, whose family had removed, on the day before the raid, to Hungarian territory.

Speculations as to the identity of the raiders continue in the press. According to one version the attack was led by Lieutenant Hejjas, the notorious terrorist chieftain and perpetrator of the Kecs-kemet massacre. Another source names the Lehar Division, whose head, Colonel Lehar, opposes Horthy's claim to the Hungarian throne and stands for the restoration of Charles IV. On this account Horthy's Minister of War refused to serve out ammunition to Lehar's men, who have helped themselves by plundering Fürstenfeld.

The central executive of Austrian trade unions appealed to the Interna-

tional Trade Union Federation at Amsterdam emphasizing the menace of Magyar militarism to the existence of the Austrian Republic. The appeal also asks the aid of the workers of Europe for the distressed people of Austria.

A commercial treaty has been concluded with Rumania for a year. It contains a most-favored-nation clause and insures reciprocal rights to vessels of either State in the waters of the other. There are provisions for commercial exchange. Rumania undertakes to furnish Austria with oil, cereals and raw materials, receiving in return railroad supplies, agricultural machinery and manufactured products. At the same time an Austrian concern contracted with the Rumanian Government for the reparation of 500 locomotives.

The Vienna police discovered a well-organized conspiracy engaged in counterfeiting Czechoslovak currency in huge sums. The members of the gang are all Hungarians, some of them officers of the Horthy army. Several accomplices were arrested, but the ringleader, a Magyar officer named Horvath, escaped. There are indications that the gang worked under protection of the Magyar Legation at Vienna and that the counterfeited notes were circulated for the purpose of compromising the credit of the Czechoslovak State.

## "The Little Entente"

### Nations of the New Alliance

THE understanding between Prague, Belgrade and Bucharest imparted to the world on Aug. 13 with the title, "The Little Entente," played an important part in the political discussions concerning the Balkans, which discounted the idea that the miniature entente was a mere set of commercial agreements. Disparaging comments as to its nature and effect came not only from Austria and Hungary, but also from France and Italy. The latter Governments feared it would lead to a premature Balkanic league. Rumania advised

On Sept. 10, M. Take Jonescu, the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, felt obliged to make a statement in the *Excelsior* of Paris vigorously denying the suggestion that had appeared in the French press that Rumania would make territorial concessions to Hungary in order to placate Budapest. M. Jonescu rejected with equal vigor the proposal put forward by *Le Temps* of Paris that Budapest be chosen as the headquarters of the Danube Commission.

The *Giornale d'Italia* of Rome, said:

"The Little Entente" moves Italy more than anything else to insist on the imme-



date execution of the Treaty of London. It is said to aim at complete neutrality in the Russo-Polish conflict, common defense against danger from Hungary and preservation from the ultimate return of the Hapsburgs, as well as against a Danubian confederation which might be the instrument to gain hegemony for some Western power. Now, if these are the sole intentions of the "Little Entente," Italy has no ground for objection to it; but this apparently innocent little alliance has within its scope a revival of the Pan-Slav idea, which the press of the smaller Slav countries is agitating, hoping that the "Great Mother, Russia," will again make her power felt.

Italy by the victory which eliminated Austria-Hungary and gave her important strategic and economic positions on the Adriatic, like Trieste, opened the way to possible conflicts, not only with the Jugoslavs, but with all the Danubian and Balkan Slavs. If Italy intends to retain her hold on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, she must be strong militarily and diplomatically, or she may as well abandon her aims at once.

It will be recalled that the Jugoslavs and the Greeks negotiated a commercial treaty last Winter. On Aug. 4 a parallel to it was concluded between the Bulgars and the Czechs. Later on, in order to put a stop to the animosity which was growing in Sofia and Athens on account of these commercial agreements, which might have concealed certain projects for mutual defense, M. Stambolisky, the Premier, addressed a personal note to M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, suggesting a rapprochement between their two countries.

On the other hand, the Progress o Athens declared:

M. Take Jonescu, the active and enterprising Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has the intention to go to Belgrade and Athens in order to bring about the formation of a Balkanic bloc capable of assuring peace in the Balkans and especially of making the Bulgars understand that no attempt tending to reverse the order of things established in the Peninsula would be tolerated in the Peninsula by Rumania, Jugoslavia and Greece.

Such was the point reached in inter-Balkan politics, ever more enigmatical.

## JUGOSLAVIA

Agram, the old capital of Croatia and Slavonia, rather than Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, came in for an exchange of formal amenities over the signing of

the "Little Entente" pact, or, to be exact, that part of it incorporating the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Czechoslovakia, which refers, many people believe, to a definite military defensive alliance, while the articles identified with Rumania are more concerned with maintaining neutrality toward Soviet Russia and with the industrial and commercial rehabilitation of all three States.

At Agram on Aug. 16 the Serbian Premier, M. Vesnitch, gave a dinner in honor of Dr. Benès, the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the Officers' Club. In offering a toast to the guest, M. Vesnitch said that they welcomed Dr. Benès "because we know that he makes the policy of his people—that admirable people which was first among our brother Slavs to fight against the invaders and to defend the national individuality." He then proceeded:

We have not shed our blood on behalf of liberty in order to oppress others, in order to be able to be unjust or aggressors, but, on the other hand, we will tolerate no disposition to overturn the status established by peace treaties. We have no designs on the property of any neighbor, but we would be unworthy of our heroes and our martyrs if we permitted for one moment the illusion even of putting in question our political and territorial rights. Our two peoples will, then, highly approve our alliance, and will greet it with confidence and enthusiasm. They will also appreciate our great merit in this work of assuring peace.

In responding to the toast Dr. Benès made a similar reference to "our great Allies," but added: "and we will pursue with them a policy of justice and right." He then praised the devotion of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to the Slav cause and continued:

At a moment when in the East two Slav nations are in conflict one with the other, it is our duty to draw the more closely together, in order to show Europe that two other Slav nations wish intimately to collaborate in the pacification of Europe and in establishing the foundations of an entirely new Europe, a Europe peaceable, just and democratic. It is our duty at this moment to accentuate a little Slav collaboration. \* \* \* Our two peoples may have full confidence in their near and distant future, because their mutual collaboration will certainly guar-

antee to them the application of the peace treaties, security and peace.

### RUMANIA

Dr. Benès then went to Bucharest, via Belgrade, in order to point out to the Government of Premier Averesco the advantages which would accrue to Rumania should she come into full standing in the "Little Entente." But M. Averesco told him, it is authoritatively reported, that from the Rumanian point of view such an agreement should not exclude Greece and Poland, in order to render it really effective as a guarantee of peace in Central and Southastern Europe.

The Rumanian Chamber ratified the Treaty of the Quai d'Orsay (the Hungarian Peace Treaty) on Aug. 17. In supporting the ratification M. Take Jonescu, the Foreign Minister, pointed out that although the frontiers of Greater Rumania, as laid down by the treaty, were definite, slight rectifications might be made in accord with Rumania's neighbors—an admission which the French press instantly interpreted as coming territorial concessions to Hungary. He then proceeded to announce that Jugoslavia had consented to the revision of the Banat frontiers and that negotiations were then in progress for the adjustment of the boundaries with Czechoslovakia.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The declaration of neutrality in the Russo-Polish war, a measure supported by all Czechoslovak parties was followed by an act of foreign policy even more momentous, the conclusion, on Czechoslovak initiative, of the Central-European Triple Entente, also called the "little" Entente. Negotiations to bring about this alignment of the three main "succession States," Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania, were conducted by the Foreign Minister, Dr. Edward Benès, who left Prague for Belgrade on Aug. 19, and afterward visited Bucharest. An official declaration outlines the program of the new combination as follows:

This entente is aimed not merely against all attempts at reaction which might menace the new States, it is not simply a

defensive alliance assuring integrity and independence to the three States concerned, but it is, above all, a positive agreement to facilitate a return to normal economic conditions, to regularize the exchanges between these countries, which have been so severely tried by the war, and to establish a new order of things in accordance with the new political constitution in Central Europe.

There has been a severe outbreak of reaction in Hungary. The Magyars desire to reconquer the territories which have been dragged away forever from Turanian oppression. The monarchists are striving to bring about a restoration of former Austria-Hungary by means of a Danubian Confederation, which would become a second edition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There was a danger that the Magyar magnates might let loose another war to regain the regions liberated from their domination. The solidity of the agreement among the three States concerned has rendered impossible any aggression which may be launched against the combined defense of all those whose interests are at stake.

Finally, this entente has concluded with Austria a series of economic arrangements which will enable this unfortunate State to extricate itself from its difficult position. The entente is also willing to live at peace with Hungary and to establish normal, friendly relations with that State, if the latter abandons its present policy and ceases to foment disturbances through its agents upon the territories of its neighbors. The united power of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania is so considerable that no State in Central or Eastern Europe would venture to attack this alliance.

The Prague newspaper, *Narodni Politika*, published an interview with Count Michael Karolyi, former President of the Hungarian Republic, now a refugee in Czechoslovakia. The ex-President declared that Czechoslovak mistrust of the present Hungarian régime was fully justified, as the Magyar Government openly boasts that it does not intend to live up to the Peace Treaty. He pointed out that the aim of Horthy is to restore monarchy not only in Hungary but also in Austria, and that such restoration would menace the very existence of the Czechoslovak Republic.

"The revanche idea can disappear in Hungary only if and when a genuinely republican and democratic government is established, a government able and willing to co-operate with the neighbor States," Karolyi concluded. "The

overturn of the Horthy régime cannot be expected through an internal revolution, for it is supported by a solid bloc

of 20,000 officers, against whom the peasants and workers, who are disarmed, could not successfully rise."

## New Boundary Conflicts in the Balkans

### Bulgarian and Greek Affairs

#### ALBANIA

WHILE affairs were being put in order between Albania and Italy at Rome the aspect of affairs on the Serbian frontier became proportionally threatening. Armed conflicts between the Albanian Rangers and the Serbian frontier posts took place. On Aug. 19 the Albanian delegation at Rome sent a note of complaint to the great powers, and a week later they sent another to the Italian Government. The first reads:

In spite of the assurances which the Albanian Government has given the Yugoslav Government on every occasion of its desire to maintain peace and to be in agreement with Belgrade, on Aug. 10 Serbian troops without warning invaded the territory of Albania, notably that of Scutari. The Serbs are now advancing into the interior of the country, bombarding villages, and leaving in their path destruction, terror and death. To judge from the systematic extermination of the Albanian element in the regions which Serbia wishes to annex, as well as the deployment of troops and artillery, we can only conclude that the invasion was premeditated and that it has no other aim than the weakening of the Albanian State and the annihilation of the Albanian race. With death in their souls, the Albanian people appeal to the exalted justice of the great powers that they may cause this inexcusable aggression to cease and thereby preserve them from calamity.

The note to the Italian Government is more comprehensive:

In consequence of an unimportant dispute on the frontier near Scutari between Albanian and Serbian peasants, the Albanian Government hastened to give explanations to Belgrade and to express its good intentions toward the Yugoslav Kingdom. In spite of these assurances, Serbian troops crossed the Albanian frontier and invaded the district of Kastrati.

The invasion of Albanian territory on such futile pretext the very day after Italy's generous action in deciding to evacuate Valona caused doubts to arise regarding the sincerity of the declarations

made by the Yugoslav Government of its desire to maintain the independence of Albania without foreign influence in the limits fixed by the agreement arrived at in London, in 1913, and shows that its real designs are to take possession of part of the Albanian territory in addition to the vast Albanian territories acquired by Serbia by right of conquest in the Balkan wars.

We protest vigorously against the invasion of our territory and against the warlike intentions of Belgrade. We beg your Excellency to put a stop to the advance of the Yugoslav troops and to invite the Belgrade Government to withdraw its troops from all territory occupied since the armistice, and to cause them to retire to the 1913 frontier.

The Albanian Government will do all in its power to prevent any further incidents and to insure order, but its efforts will be in vain until the Yugoslavs evacuate the Albanian territory. The policy of Belgrade is likely to be the cause of new Balkan troubles.

On Aug. 20 the Albanians seized a Serbian transport in the Kastrati Canal and took it to Scutari, and both banks of the Moyana River began to be held by Albanians in strong force. The reports of the hostilities that followed are too meagre and contradictory to be relied upon at this writing.

#### BULGARIA

With the exception of Greece, Bulgaria, through its press, paid more attention to the attempted assassination of M. Venizelos at Paris, Aug. 12, than other Balkan countries. Typical of public opinion was the statement made by M. Stambolisky to the Sofia papers on Aug. 17:

The attack on M. Venizelos has made me very angry. It is true that this man, by the authority which he enjoyed near the great powers, caused great harm to Bulgaria, but I must realize that this great statesman also has known how to find a basis for rapprochement and to create a lasting friendship between our two countries. It is much better to be

obliged to deal with a reasonable man than one without either spirit or authority. Also, I am sincerely glad to hear that he escaped death.

Shortly after it was announced in Sofia that the Treaty of Neuilly (the Bulgar Treaty of Peace) had received the completion of its ratification at Paris Aug. 9, becoming formally effective on that date, Mr. Stambolisky sent out two notes, one to the Serbian Mission then at Sofia and the other to the local Dutch Legation having in charge Greek interests in Bulgaria. By these notes Bulgaria asked the Governments addressed (of Belgrade and Athens) to give the necessary orders for the prompt return of all the prisoners and hostages held in Serbia and Greece.

In commenting on "The Little Entente" the *Mir* of Sofia said on Aug. 16:

If Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia affirm that they wish to remain neutral in regard to the struggle now going on on the banks of the Vistula (between Poland and Soviet Russia), Bulgaria has a hundred times more reason to declare her neutrality in this struggle and in all of those which may follow, and that this policy ought to be pursued for the rehabilitation of the social and economic equilibrium of the various States disarranged by the consequences of the war of which they were the pretext. Bulgaria will profit from the situation by following the path of work and peace, just as M. Cambon advises us. Sincerely she has laid aside her arms, and may she keep them so.

The commercial treaty signed by Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia on Aug. 4 has for its aim, declared M. Suster, head of the Czech Mission at Sofia, the development of exportation and importation between the countries interested. According to the terms of the agreement, Bulgaria will be able to import agricultural machinery, glass and enamel wares, articles of iron and steel, textiles, shoes and certain articles of furniture, with the exception of articles of luxury. On the other hand, Czechoslovakia will be able to purchase grain, fruit and vegetables. For this service already 3,460 wagonloads were mobilized in Bulgaria.

### GREECE

The news of the attempted assassination of M. Venizelos came the day after

the great peace celebration of Wednesday, Aug. 11, and fell like a bomb on Athens and its port, Piraeus. In no time the crowd, inspired by the rumors that the "Father of Modern Hellas" had succumbed, wrecked the offices of five opposition newspapers, the Kotopoulis Theatre and certain big cafés known to be reactionary centres in Athens. The same fate befell the fine residence of M. Skouloudis, the Minister of former King Constantine, in Constitution Square.

The police hastily dealt with the crowds and then proceeded to round-up the suspected reactionary officers of the former army, for there were rumors of a deep-seated plot. By the 14th Athens had resumed its normal aspect and the Government had invited the opposition press to resume publication under the protection of the police. It was a few days, however, before they could put their plants in order. Of the leading oppositionists only MM. Stratos, Roufos, Stratigos and a dozen others were arrested, and the younger Dragoumis was killed by a bayonet thrust while resisting arrest.

M. Repoulis, Vice President of the Ministerial Council, issued a statement to the press. After describing the information the Government had in regard to the pro-Constantine plot, he said that the conspirators were planning for a coup de main on the night of the peace celebration; they had planned to seize the barracks, the arsenal and the Government offices, and had apparently expected M. Venizelos's assassination to take place early on the morning of that day (Wednesday), so that they would be able to confront the Athenians with two accomplished facts on Thursday morning. But M. Venizelos postponed his departure from Paris for twenty-four hours, while the authorities prevented the coup in Athens by having the objectives to be attacked strongly patrolled; so the assassins in Paris, not being informed of the failure in Athens, attempted to perform their end of the plot on Thursday.

Meanwhile, Greece settled herself down to administer Eastern Thrace, just



as she had Western. The successful performer of the taking over and administering of the Western region was M. Vamvacas, the Governor General, who established his capital at Gumuldjina. He thought that the fusion of Eastern and Western Thrace would be preferable to separate administrations, and that in any case the capital would be Adrianople. One phase of his administration, which is also applied to the Eastern area, was described by him as follows:

I formed a mixed commission, composed of Turks, Bulgars, and Greeks. The latter, not being primarily interested parties, had a consultative voice

only. The Turks were for ousting the Bulgars without distinction. Some of the latter had, however, purchased houses and land, and the rights of property had to be respected. It was decided that these should remain in possession. In cases where Bulgars had tilled the land they occupied it was decided that they should remain until they had reaped the harvest and then evacuate. In the matter of damage and destruction Turks and Bulgars were equally culpable; therefore it was held that each should lend a hand in reconstruction, and the Government, in the interests of peace, would come to their aid. A committee was appointed to examine the damage and specify the repairs necessary, and in three weeks the matter was settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

## Poland's Campaign Against Russia

Warned by Powers Against New Transgressions of Legitimate Boundaries—Peace Negotiations Transferred to Riga

### POLAND

THE phenomenal recovery of Poland from the heavy blows inflicted by the invading Red forces proved not to be short-lived, and the Polish triple offensive continued during the month under review, demoralizing the whole organization of the Red offensive, driving the Soviet forces steadily back to the east and north, netting thousands of ragged prisoners and forcing thousands of others, equally miserable, across the East Prussian frontier, where they were disarmed and interned by the German Government. Both for Poland and for Germany these new thousands of mouths to feed presented a difficult problem.

On the Warsaw front three Bolshevik divisions were annihilated by Aug. 19, and thousands taken prisoner. The Warsaw front was rapidly cleared and the Reds were pushed back on the north and northeast. Owing to the continued Polish pressure toward the northeast, aided by new forces under French commanders, the Bolsheviks were compelled to withdraw their troops, which had reached the Vistula south of the Prussian border and northeast of Warsaw, and the Poles were able to recapture the Danzig corridor.

Marshal Pilsudski personally led the main Polish attack in the centre, and by Aug. 20 the Poles entered Brest-Litovsk. Cut off on the right flank, driven across the Prussian frontier and pushed back on the east, the Bolsheviks attempted a diversion by cavalry attacking toward Lemberg in the south, but accomplished little at this time, the Poles having taken all precautions against surprise. The Bolshevik cavalry General, Budenny, was repelled in an attempt to encircle Lemberg. The Poles continued their successes, taking other towns. They announced the capture of 35,000 prisoners on Aug. 22. The Reds along the Prussian frontier, harassed by Polish cavalry, were retreating panic-stricken, refusing to obey their officers, and thousands crossed the frontier, preferring internment to further attempts to cut their way out of the trap in which they had been caught.

The Poles, having won all their objectives, awaited further developments with calm confidence. Ignace Daszynski on Aug. 23 sent a letter to the French General Weygand, under whose direction the new offensives had been undertaken, expressing Poland's gratitude and admiration for his aid in Poland's time of

need.\* Weygand, having accomplished his task, returned to France and met with an enthusiastic reception, being called the "Savior of Poland" and receiving the highest public commendation by Marshal Foch. Toward the end of August the Soviet Government was hurrying all available reserve forces to stem the Polish tide, recruiting was going on extensively, Soviet munition plants were working day and night, and plans were being laid to throw new armies against the Poles. General Weygand himself admitted that the Poles were by no means guaranteed against the future. The Soviet concentrations were in the northeast, at Grodno, Lithuania, and on the Galician front, where Budenny's raids continued. The Poles, on their part, were resting and regrouping after pushing the Bolsheviks across the Bug River, but continued their resistance around Lemberg, aided by Ukrainian forces under Pavlenko. Both from Great Britain and America Poland received warnings not to transgress again the ethnonographic frontiers of Poland. Marshal Pilsudski, however, on Aug. 30 declared that it was impossible for the Poles to halt on the eastern front and maintain a solely defensive attitude, as the Allies desired; they would either have to advance until the enemy was destroyed or make peace at once and be resigned to further Russian aggressions. Regarding the ethnic line laid down by the Entente, Pilsudski declared that to halt at this line "would be to affirm by deed that this illusory eastern frontier corresponds to our aspirations." The losses of the Bolshevik Army amounted to at least 100,000, said Pilsudski, and it would take the Soviet Government a long time to reorganize; now was the time, if ever, to strike a decisive blow.

Soon after this Pilsudski left again for the front, in preparation for a new stage of the war with Moscow. The centre of interest was the Lemberg theatre, where Budenny's cavalry was operating independently, with a Russian infantry army on the north and south respectively. [For Lithuanian phases see Baltic States.] Early in September the Lemberg movement was repulsed by

the Poles and the Bolsheviks driven out of the greater part of Galicia. The Poles were advancing on Sept. 9 on the northeast, capturing 3,000 prisoners and winning victories against the Russians



GENERAL MAXIME WEYGAND  
*French Strategist who helped the Poles to win their victory over the Russians*

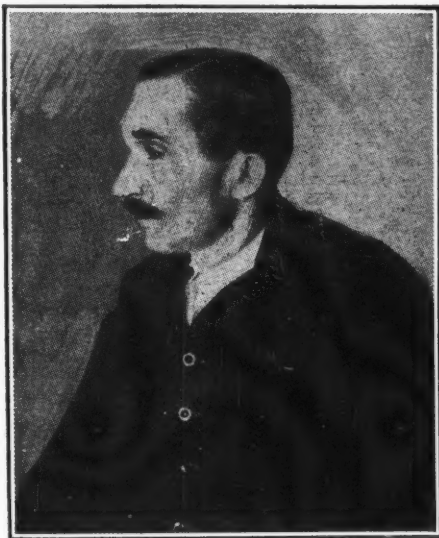
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south of Brest-Litovsk, while the Russians claimed desultory successes in the Lithuanian area. More towns were taken by the Poles by Sept. 13 east of the Bug toward Kovel, south of Brest-Litovsk. Everything indicated that the Polish of-

\*M. Daszinski, leader of the Socialist Party in Poland, took the position of Vice President of the Council in the new coalition Cabinet created on July 24 under the Presidency of M. Witos, the peasant leader. The Witos Ministry came in at a critical moment when the Poles were undergoing defeat by the Red armies. The other members of the new Cabinet were: M. Skulski, former President of the Council, Secretary of the Interior; M. Grabski, Minister of Finance; Prince Sapieha, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Both M. Daszinski and M. Witos were said to possess great influence with the Polish masses. M. Daszinski, on Aug. 2, issued a statement recognizing the grave moment at which the new Government had assumed power. The struggle against Russian imperialism, he declared, could not fail to lead to the creation of a Government representing the workers and peasants of Poland, which was the best guarantee for the national defense and for awakening renewed confidence in the countries of the Entente.

fensive had met with virtually complete success.

The peace discussions at Minsk were brought to a close at the end of August, when the Polish delegates insisted that the negotiations should be transferred to Riga, in Latvia, and should be conducted



PIAST WITOS  
*Peasant Premier of Poland*

on an entirely different basis. The Bolsheviks, having believed Warsaw within their grasp, had sought to play the victor; to this the Poles would not submit. It was made clear to the Bolsheviks that they must go to Riga in a wholly different frame of mind.

The peace delegates were recalled by Warsaw on Sept. 2. Several of them had fallen ill because of the insanitary conditions at Minsk. Prince Sapieha, the Polish Foreign Minister, declared that Poland was still ready to make peace, but not on the basis of a conquered nation, and that Poland would never agree to disarmament, which was one of the fifteen Bolshevik points rejected at Minsk. On his return to Warsaw, Roman Dmowski, head of the Polish delegation, stated that he had good hopes of reaching a settlement at Riga. Karl Radek, he said, the personal representative of Tchitcherin, had come to Minsk and asked to meet the Socialist members of the

Polish delegation privately. Having obtained consent to this, he told these delegates that Soviet Russia was ready to meet Poland's fundamental conditions, but that it must be assured in the event that France urged Poland to unite with Wrangel, whom it had recognized, in another war on Moscow, Poland would refuse assent. The Polish Socialists, said Dmowski, were convinced that this declaration was sincere, and it was really this intervention which had prevented a complete rupture. The Riga Conference was to open Sept. 15.

The departure of Sir Reginald Tower, Allied High Commissioner at Danzig, for Paris, on Sept. 4, marked the end of a lively dispute regarding the unloading of Polish munitions and supplies at Danzig. A troubled situation had developed there during the Polish offensive, owing to the resolution of the Assembly of the Free City declaring that Danzig must maintain neutrality, and to the refusal of the German dockworkers, filled with hatred of the Poles, to unload the Polish munition ships. In order to avoid serious trouble, the High Commissioner had refused to permit the unloading of ships that arrived, and had asked for a force of 20,000 men to maintain order in case the unloading were insisted upon. The dispatch of French and British warships finally solved the problem, and the dock laborers at the end of August voted to carry on their work.

The conflict between the Soviet Government and Great Britain over the terms which the Bolshevik leaders sought to impose on Poland became again acute after the meeting of Lloyd George with Signor Giolitti, the Italian Premier, at Lucerne. Following the decision taken at this conference, a communiqué was sent by the joint powers asking Moscow's intentions regarding terms, and protesting against the Soviet demand that a Polish civic guard of workmen be sanctioned by the Polish Government, and against Polish disarmament. In an accompanying note, published on Aug. 24, Mr. Balfour pointed out that Moscow's terms were in "fundamental contradiction" to those which Mr. Kamenev, the Bolshevik envoy to London, had submitted through

Lloyd George. A reply was asked by Aug. 27. This communiqué and the covering note were sent both to the Bolshevik envoys and to M. Tchitcherin. An answer received from Tchitcherin, on Aug. 26, stated that the Soviet Government, in order to bring about peace with Great Britain, was prepared to yield in the matter of the Polish civic guard of workers, and would withdraw this offending clause. It did so, however, with expressions of astonishment that this clause should be objected to. The note also contained a long argument on the Soviet system and its advantages.

Mr. Balfour's reply was made public on Sept. 2. It was widely commented upon as a masterpiece of argument. Balfour pointed out Tchitcherin's error in supposing that Great Britain ever recognized the limitation of the Polish Army to 50,000 men. It had merely said that it would not consider such a clause as a reason for active intervention. Mr. Balfour further discounted Tchitcherin's "surprise" over Great Britain's objections to the proposed Polish civic militia, implied Moscow's bad faith in dictating this clause, which was not in the first official draft of conditions submitted to Kamenev; declared that it would amount to the dictation of one class over all the rest of a vanquished population, and reaffirmed England's unalterable opposition to such dictation, irrespective of what class it might be drawn from, whether workmen or capitalists. In a few brief, ironical words Mr. Balfour replied to the long argument in the Soviet note lauding the ad-

vantages of the Soviet system of government.

Secretary Colby on Aug. 18 assured representatives of American citizens of Polish birth that the United States would do all in its power to preserve Polish independence. It was officially announced from Washington on Aug. 25 that the Washington Government had warned Poland against engaging in territorial aggression on Russia, asking for an official disclaimer of such an intention. Poland's reply was made public on Sept. 2. In effect it avoided a direct answer by maintaining that "it could hardly be considered fair that artificial boundaries that do not bind our opponent should interfere with the military operations of Poland." Though this was followed by the expressed hope for a just and speedy peace, the disinclination to give an explicit disclaimer, such as the United States had requested, was unmistakable. It was stated semi-officially in Washington on Sept. 2 that the United States would request Poland to restate her aims, and to repudiate all purpose of conquest, following the policy outlined by Secretary Colby in his official letter to the Italian Ambassador, which had declared for the integrity of the Russian national frontier. Mere temporary crossing of the ethnic line for strategic purposes was not objected to by the United States, which sought only assurance that after the period of belligerency was over the Poles would permanently withdraw within the boundaries laid down by the allied powers as legitimate.

## New Difficulties for Soviet Russia

### Trade Resumption With England Deferred, While Wrangel's Power Grows With French Recognition

#### RUSSIA

THE month under review brought new complications for the Soviet Government in the form of a Polish counteroffensive that drove the Red forces east and north and netted the Poles

thousands of prisoners. [See article on Poland.] Meanwhile, the negotiations for a resumption of trade with Great Britain languished, Krassin and Kamenev being able to accomplish little in London while the Polish campaign was



raging, inasmuch as the main condition for a resumption of trade and peace relations made by Great Britain and France jointly had been that all such discussions must be preceded by a settlement of the whole Polish question. A sore point for Moscow was Britain's alleged favoring of General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevist leader in South Russia. Furthermore, the relations between the Allies and Soviet Russia had again become strained. Following the discussions between Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti, the Italian Premier, at Lucerne, Switzerland, a note was sent by Lloyd George, through Mr. Balfour as Lord President of the Council, which called on the Moscow Government to cut out of the peace terms to Poland all clauses which would be subversive to Poland's independence. Partly as a result of this note Kamenev, the Bolshevik envoy, left London and returned to Moscow. It afterward transpired that Moscow had sent a considerable sum of money to *The Herald*, a London labor organ controlled by Mr. Lansbury, a Soviet sympathizer, to promote Bolshevism in England, and that a stormy scene between Lloyd George and Kamenev on this account had preceded the departure of the Soviet envoy. The British Premier accused Kamenev of Bolshevik propaganda, including interviews with the so-called "Council of Action," a radical labor organization opposed to intervention in Russia.

The nervousness of the Soviet authorities over the Wrangel campaign was increased by the recognition of Wrangel by France. Wrangel continued his policy of establishing cordial relations with the peasants by giving land grants and a considerable degree of local autonomy, and by refusing to follow the Soviet custom of requisitioning the peasants' grain. His efforts to unite the elements in South Russia, which, under the régime of General Denikin, were continually involved in internal disputes, leading finally to Denikin's collapse, were rewarded with complete success in the case of the Cossacks of the Don, Kuban, Terek and Astrakhan districts,

with whom he signed a treaty late in August, according to which the Cossacks acknowledged the authority of Wrangel in military affairs and foreign relations, while retaining full power over domestic administration in Cossack territories. By this treaty the territory of Wrangel was extended to the fertile Cossack regions covering an extended territory to the north and east of the Crimea.

General Wrangel's military activities were increasingly successful. His actual Crimean front was based on the Sea of Azov and ran northwest to the Dnieper at Alexandrovsk on the Dnieper. He began an offensive on a wide front on Aug. 17, after receiving the first news of the Polish rally. The Bolsheviks were driven across the Dnieper, and large numbers of prisoners were captured.

In an interview at his headquarters in Sebastopol on Aug. 22, General Wrangel expressed deep gratification both at the recognition accorded by France and at the attitude of the United States, as expressed by Secretary Colby in his official note to the Italian Ambassador. In other interviews he declared that his policy would be one of federation and the acknowledgment of Russia's foreign obligations. He would not cease fighting, he declared, until the Soviet régime was overthrown and a truly representative people's Government was established. Though he suffered some reverses along the Dnieper at the beginning of September, most of his lines were still firmly held. Professor Paul N. Milukov, former Foreign Minister of Russia, left Paris for the Crimea on Sept. 1 to take an important position in the Wrangel Government. The possibilities of the combined successes of the Poles and Wrangel led on Aug. 23 to the passing of a resolution by the Moscow Communists which reads as follows:

Bearing in mind the fact that our western army has suffered a serious defeat, owing to France's increased support of Poland, and simultaneously that General Wrangel's front is acquiring primary importance, the Moscow party conference recognizes the necessity of affording all assistance to the western front and at the same time of liquidating General Wran-

gel's front entirely by means of forces now situated at our rear.

It, therefore, calls upon all party organizations to carry out a party mobilization with the same accuracy and rapidity as before and to arrange for business-like discussions of measures to be taken to assist on Wrangel's front.

Also, widespread agitation must be developed among the masses, workers and peasants in favor of a volunteer movement for the Red Army in the struggle against Wrangel.

A special order issued by Trotzky to the Ninth Army on Sept. 3 directed that Wrangel must be destroyed "at all costs."

The Ukrainian National Committee in Paris on Aug. 13 issued a declaration to the effect that the Ukrainian people would never make peace with the Bolsheviks, on the ground that the present Soviet régime is founded on terrorism, Communism, and the negation of universal suffrage, and that Ukraine favored the restoration of Russia on a federal basis and the settlement of the agrarian question in favor of the peasantry, not only of Ukraine but of all Russia. The so-called Ukrainian Republic, set up and controlled by Moscow, is not recognized by the committee. Petlura, the so-called peasant leader, still continues his resistance to the Red forces scattered through the Ukraine. Whole sectors, however, are free from the Reds and are protected by armed peasant forces of respectable size. The general attitude of the Ukrainian peasants is one of hostility toward the Bolsheviks.

The situation in Siberia was marked toward the end of August by the revolt of Western Siberian peasants against Soviet rule. Independent peasant Soviets were set up at Tomsk, Novo-Nikolaevsk, Omsk and other important towns. The general movement of insurrection was led by the Khirgis tribesmen, following the withdrawal of Bolshevik troops for the Polish front. The Khirgis were joined by Cossacks and detachments of anti-Bolshevik troops, including a number of Russian officers released from Soviet prisons. The cities captured are situated in the richest farming districts of Siberia. It was reported on Sept. 7, however, that Soviet

forces, aided by German and Hungarian war prisoners, had recaptured Omsk and had also regained possession of a portion of the railway.

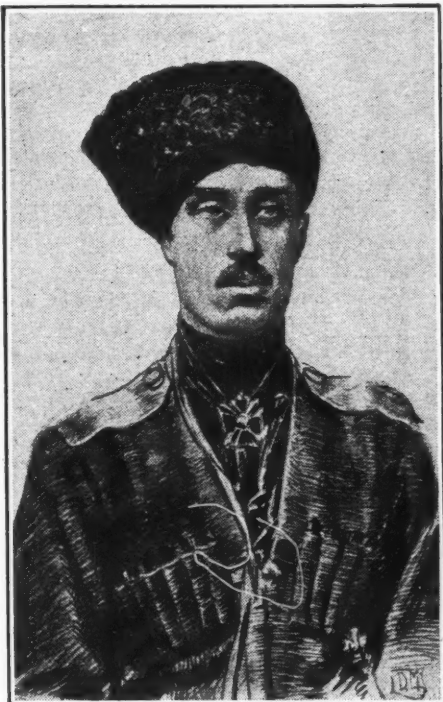
One important change in the Siberian situation was the closing by General Semenov, the anti-Bolshevik leader in the Trans-Baikal region, of his campaign against the Reds in this district. General Semenov, Cossack Ataman, bandit, guerrilla, at one time an associate of Admiral Kolchak, long an ally of Japan, had for many months held the centre of the political stage in Siberia. He had been a military dictator, with power of life and death over the Siberian people, and many atrocities were charged against him. Arrangements were completed by the Chinese General Staff on Aug. 28 for the passage of some 20,000 of his troops and those of the anti-Bolshevik General Kappel through Manchuria on the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Russian maritime province. This liquidation followed the withdrawal of the Japanese forces that had been supporting Semenov and Kappel.

Early in September the signing of an agreement between Semenov and the Vladivostok Government was officially reported. This agreement provided for the unification of the Semenov and Vladivostok régimes under a National Assembly. Semenov was to retain his authority over the Cossacks, but relinquished all other powers. After signing this agreement, General Semenov issued an appeal to all Russians not to submit to the Bolsheviks or to the monarchical elements of the Czar's régime, proclaiming that the right to govern rested only with the people.

The Japanese continued to occupy Saghalin in force, and prepared to erect Winter encampments for their soldiers there. The Assembly of the Republic of Vladivostok—also occupied by the Japanese, with the rest of the maritime province—had accomplished little, owing to the doubtful attitude of the population. The complexion of the new Far Eastern Republic at Verkhne-Udinsk continued to be strongly pro-Bolshevik under the Americanized Russian Communist Tobelson. Japan was maintain-

ing her policy of non-interference with this new republic, but had renounced officially her project of creating a buffer State.

Reports from Soviet Russia toward the end of August indicated that the economic conditions in Petrograd were



GENERAL BARON PETER WRANGEL  
*Commanding anti-Bolshevist armies in  
South Russia*

much worse than those in Moscow. Petrograd was said to present an aspect of forlornness and abandonment. Food prices were 15 per cent. higher than in Moscow. In the latter city there was much greater activity. An atmosphere of military rule was prevalent here. The population was under a constant nervous strain, and many persons were being arrested by the supreme counter-revolutionary committee. Recruiting was going on extensively and every man available was being mustered into the Red Army to fight against Poland.

Moscow was in a gala red dress on Aug. 30, entertaining delegates to the Third International. Banners and post-

ers appeared profusely, containing Soviet propaganda in many languages. Under the title, "National Work of the Communist International," the Moscow Government issued an account of the last sitting of the Third International Congress. Addresses, it said, were delivered by Sultan Zade (Persia), Comrade Lau (China), Comrade Sa (Korea), and Ismail Kaki (Turkey), glorifying revolution and denouncing the bourgeoisie. Speaking on behalf of the Jewish proletariat, Comrades Frumkina, Merezhin and Kenn proposed that the congress should carry a strong protest against the anti-Semitic persecutions and pogroms sanctioned or allowed by the bourgeoisie.

The leaders of the International, in accordance with their plan for holding a Bolshevik conference in Baku, the Caspian port of Azerbaijan, issued an official call for this conference to be held on Sept. 1. The manifesto began as follows:

A manifesto by the Third International to the peoples of Asia. The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls a conference of the peasants and workers of Persia, Armenia and Turkey for Sept. 1 in Baku. \* \* \* Why does the Communist International call a congress of the Persian, Armenian and Turkish peasants and workers? \* \* \* The fighting workers and peasants of Europe and Asia turn to you because you, like them, are suffering under the yoke of world capitalism, and because the union of the Persian, Armenian and Turkish peasants and workers with the great army of the European and American proletariat will make this army stronger and will speed the death of capitalism, thus bringing about the liberation of the workers and peasants of the whole world.

Following this line of thought, the manifesto called on the peoples mentioned to organize, to form their own Workers' and Peasants' Government, and to unite with the "Red Russian Workers' and Peasants' Army." Just as they marched over mountains and through deserts to their holy places, so they were to march to Baku to meet and discuss "how you can unite as brothers, so as to live as men, free and equal," in the "great liberation council of the peoples of the Near East."

The extreme attitude of the Third In-

ternational, meanwhile, was alienating British, French and American sympathizers by its demands for armed revolution and a "dictatorship of the proletariat" everywhere. The attitude of the Socialist Party of the United States toward the Third International is stated by Morris Hillquit elsewhere in this magazine. It was officially stated by Wash-

ington on Sept. 9 that opposition to the dictatorship of the Moscow régime had developed even among the members of the Third International. Delegates representing other countries than Russia had complained of this domination. Out of a total of eighteen members of the new Executive Committee of the Third International only five are Russians.

## Recognition of Wrangel by France

### Text of Official Declarations

THE following declaration was made in Paris by M. de Giers in the name of General Wrangel's Government on Aug. 11 with regard to that Government's policy, and it was, apparently, upon this declaration that the French Cabinet decided to recognize General Wrangel on that day:

The Government of Southern Russia, being in enjoyment of full and sovereign constitutional power, claiming to represent the idea of Russian nationalism, faithful to the alliances and friendships of Russia, and in entire harmony with the Russian democratic and patriotic movement, conformably to its declarations, adopts the following principles as the basis of its policy:

(1) As regards the future government of Russia, the principal aim pursued by the Government of Southern Russia is to give the people an opportunity of determining their form of government by a free expression of their opinions.

(2) Equality of civil and political rights and inviolability of the person of all Russian citizens without distinction of birth or religion;

(3) Distribution of the land with full rights of ownership to those who actually cultivate it, being the legal confirmation of the process of seizure of land effected by the peasants themselves in the course of the revolution; this reform is in course of being carried out;

(4) Protection of the interests of the working classes and of its trade organizations;

(5) Relations with the political administrations which have sprung up within Russian territory; the Government of Southern Russia will aim at inducing a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation, with a view to the union of Russia into one large federation voluntarily formed, a union which will result natu-

rally from common interests and above all from economic needs;

(6) Re-establishment in the economic sphere of the productive forces of Russia on principles common to all modern democracies, leaving a large place to private initiative;

(7) Formal acknowledgment of international engagements contracted toward foreign powers by previous Governments of Russia;

(8) Payment of Russian debts, the real guarantee for which payment will be the execution of the program of economic reconstruction.

Several weeks before this action of the French Government M. Millerand made the following preliminary statement:

M. Millerand—Permit me to make a few remarks on the position of General Wrangel, who is conducting a successful and courageous fight against Bolshevism in Crimea and the Tauric Peninsula, and whom circumstance at the present moment is favoring. A real *de facto* Government has been constituted, and has won the support and sympathy of the population by its application of agricultural reform, by its distribution of land among the peasants, and by the scheme which it has under consideration at the present moment for working out a method of popular representation.

M. Charles Baron—How much will that cost us?

M. Jean Ehrlich—Not as much as the Bolsheviks.

M. Millerand—On the day when this *de facto* Government shall demand to be recognized as such, it is perfectly understood that one condition shall be imposed; this condition is that it shall begin by declaring itself to have accepted and to be responsible for previous engagements made by Russia with foreign States.

(From the Journal Officiel, session of July 20, Page 2976.)



## Struggle of Baltic States for Independence

### Three Months' Developments in Finland, Latvia and Lithuania— Esthonia's New Constitution

THE general economic and political situation in the Baltic States, taken as a whole, has not improved in the last few months. Industrial idleness has prevailed, owing to the want of raw materials and machinery, and considerable social unrest, due in large part to Bolshevik propaganda, has prevailed throughout Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The important Baltic ports of Reval, Riga and Libau have been empty of ships. Even the passenger and freight services, which six months ago were regularly plying across the Baltic to Stockholm and Helsingfors, have been stopped by the Scandinavians and Finns since Esthonia made peace with Soviet Russia and Latvia began negotiations looking toward the conclusion of a similar peace.

Politically the efforts of the Soviet Government to effect peace with the Baltic States have made considerable progress; treaties with Latvia and Lithuania have been signed, and an armistice with Finland has been agreed upon, after long and often acrimonious discussions, frequently broken off. The Poles in their latest note to the League of Nations have accused the Lithuanians of making common cause against them with the Bolsheviks on Lithuanian territory.

#### FINLAND

The success of the Polish-Ukrainian offensive against the Bolshevik armies, combined with the effort of M. Tchitcherine, the Soviet Foreign Minister, to reopen peace negotiations with Finland, placed the Finnish Government in an embarrassing position in the early Summer. The Finnish Socialist Party clamored for peace and disarmament, while the Conservatives and Agrarians wished to defer action pending an issue of the Po-

lish-Ukrainian war on Moscow. A Cabinet meeting was held at Helsingfors on May 14, at which it was decided to reply to the Bolshevik overtures that though Finland accepted in principle the proposal to resume negotiations, it reserved the right to determine when and where the Peace Conference should assemble.

It was finally agreed between Finland and the Soviet Government that negotiations should be carried on at Dorpat, Esthonia. By July 14 these negotiations had reached a deadlock and the conference had been suspended until July 28. The Finnish press was incensed at the delay and blamed it on Moscow's hope of effecting a trade agreement with Great Britain in London. The Dorpat discussions were resumed, but the sweeping Soviet successes against Poland increased the peremptory tone of the Bolshevik delegates.

Because of her geographical position, Finland looked on her situation at this time with considerable misgiving. Her sympathy was with Poland, and she greatly apprehended a Bolshevik campaign, both from without and within, in case Poland should be completely crushed. According to reliable estimates, there were 10,000 Finnish Bolsheviks in Russia—with Petrograd as their headquarters—who had escaped over the frontier after the defeat of the Finnish Reds in the Spring of 1918. These men had long formed a nucleus of troops fighting against Finland, and were only waiting for a suitable opportunity to pay off old scores with the aid of the extreme elements of Finland. The Right organs viewed with disquiet "the rising imperialism of the Bolsheviks," and considered as precarious the situation of Finland, which they described as externally iso-

lated and internally divided, while the Left organs dwelt on the necessity of making peace and declared that further delay would result in the forced acceptance of disadvantageous terms.

The Russians at Dorpat opposed the Finnish demands for the ice-free port of Petchenga and for the self-determination of Karelia. Charges of imperialism were mutually exchanged. An agreement on armistice terms between Finland and Russia, however, was finally reached on Aug. 11, the same day, curiously enough, on which Latvia signed a peace treaty with Moscow. The armistice was formally signed a few days later. Its terms were briefly as follows:

The armistice was to come into force forty-eight hours after it had been signed. It was to continue for thirty-one days, and to be automatically renewable after that period, but it was provided that either side could renounce it on giving ten days' notice of its intention to do so. In the Karelian Isthmus the troops of both parties were to retain their positions. From Lake Ladoga northward to Lintojaervi the military position was likewise to remain unchanged. The Karelian parishes of Reppola and Porajarvi, which had for some time been under Finnish protection, were to be included in the Finnish sphere; otherwise the boundary of 1917 was to be followed. From Lintojaervi to the Norwegian frontier all troops were to retire five kilometers (a little over three miles), thus forming a neutral zone ten kilometers broad. As regards the sea frontier, there were slight modifications in the Gulf of Finland, but in the main the 1917 boundaries were to be followed. The final settlement regarding the Petchenga district was left open provisionally. The Russian delegates on Aug. 13 offered to concede a strip of territory on a long lease, with permission to build railways, roads, harbors, &c. Beyond this M. Kershentsev, the Russian Chairman, declared that Russia would not go.

The economic situation of Finland, on the whole, was more favorable than that of the other Baltic States. At a meeting of the German-Finnish Hanseatic League held in July the attaché of the Finnish Legation in Berlin stated that during the war the rearing of live stock had deteriorated considerably and that dairy exports had dwindled to almost nothing. Industrial production had also greatly declined since the introduction of the

eight-hour day, though the new fiscal tariff introduced last year had afforded every protection to home industry. Finland was obliged to maintain an expensive army to repel the advance of Bolshevism. The national debt had risen to 1,500,000 Finnish marks, but this was far more than counterbalanced by an aggregate State capital of 8,000,000 marks. On the whole, despite the heavy national expense, the financial situation was not regarded as unsatisfactory. The need for ready money, however, led to the floating of a short term loan of 100,000,000 marks in the United States, which the Finnish Minister announced on June 23 had been completed.

### ESTHONIA

Jaak Poska, who was President of the Esthonian delegation that concluded peace with Soviet Russia, died in Reval on March 9. The results of his political handiwork in Esthonia have by no means been what he expected of it. Six months after an armistice was declared, and three months after peace was formally made, Esthonia found herself sadly disillusioned. The great profits which were expected to pour into the national treasury from the renewal of trade with the Soviet Government did not materialize, as many reputable firms found on investigation that no certainty existed that the Bolshevik firms could, or would, fulfill their contracts. Esthonia also found that Latvia and Lithuania were preparing to compete with her for the brokerage on such Russian trade as could be arranged. Food raids by Bolshevik bands and a rush of small food traders across the border made it necessary for her to keep armed forces at the frontier to avoid being stripped of all supplies. Food prices went up 100 per cent. as the result of the Bolshevik demand and the stoppage of trade with the Scandinavian countries and Finland. The Esthonian mark also depreciated fully 20 per cent.

The ceaseless Bolshevik propaganda in Esthonia failed of results largely because of these conditions, which showed the Esthonians that Bolshevism as a political credo was undesirable from the

point of view of results. A curious feature of Esthono-Russian relations was the great desire shown by many workmen living in Soviet Russia to emigrate to Esthonia. The Esthonian Mission in Petrograd was flooded with applications, and thousands from other

1 demonstration, both former officers in the Russian Army, and sentencing the others to very long terms of imprisonment. Hellat's sentence of the two leaders brought about the political crisis which led to the resignation of the Socialist Premier and his Ministers. Early in August, however, M. Tönnison returned to power at the head of a Coalition Government drawn from the People's Party and the Independents.

Esthonia has stood firm against Russia's persistent efforts to Bolshevize its working population. The organic law which the Esthonian Assembly made it its first duty to pass at the beginning of June, 1919, was taken as the foundation of the Constitution of the new republic. This passed its first reading not long ago, and in August was being considered by the newly elected Constituent Assembly prior to final adoption.\*

This organic law solemnly affirmed the independence of the democratic Republic of Esthonia, and defined its boundaries. It declared Esth to be the official language of the State, but admitted the right of the recognized ethnic minorities—Germans, Russians, Swedes and Letts—to use their own language before the local courts in places where they were in a majority, and to submit requests in their own language to the central administration. It declared all citizens equal before the law, and recognized no class or birth distinctions. It guaranteed the security and liberty of the person and home, and, except in cases specified by law, of speech, assembly, association, the press and religious conscience. It maintained that every citizen has "a right to an existence compatible with human dignity" and to the possession of a certain portion of land. It promised State assistance in the case of unemployment, child-birth, old age and mental derangement. It made elementary education compulsory and free, but admitted the right of any individual speaking another tongue to claim teaching in his own language. Politically, it made the people the supreme power in the State, who by uni-



NEW BALTIC STATES, WITH TENTATIVE BOUNDARIES

parts of Soviet Russia sought permission to enter Esthonia. Enormous sums were offered daily for Esthonian passports, and it was made clear that whatever the conditions in Esthonia were, they were considered infinitely superior to those prevailing under the Soviets.

The economic crisis in Esthonia was so severe that it combined with labor and political troubles to bring about a Cabinet crisis in July. The Socialist Ministers, headed by M. Tönnison, the Premier, withdrew partly to avoid responsibility for the deplorable economic situation. The direct and immediate cause of the Socialist withdrawal, however, was the action of the Minister of the interior, M. Hellat, nominally a Socialist, but described as a *Tchinovnik* (Russian bureaucratic official under the old régime) with all the defects of his type. His offense was ordering the execution of two of the leaders of the May

\*The following details are taken from the New Europe of Aug. 12, 1920.

versal suffrage delegate this power to the Constituent Assembly and to a President.

This organic law was supplemented by an Agrarian bill which practically confiscated all the landed estates and redistributed them among the citizens. Serfdom was completely abolished, and the peasant became the owner of the land with the right of sale. Nationalization pure and simple was demanded only by the Social Democrats, and the bill passed a third reading in the Assembly by a large majority, despite the resistance of the German element to the expropriation of the Baltic barons.

The Constituent Assembly was elected in April, 1919, and from June a special commission worked at the framing of the Constitution. The draft scheme (summarized in the Bulletin d'Esthonie No. 10) was submitted to debate early in 1920 in the Assembly, and after somewhat drastic amendment was passed on the third reading in the middle of June. This Constitution rarely departs in principle from the organic law. Its first article lays down that the power of the State is in the hands of the people, and all the rights given by the organic law are emphasized and confirmed. One important modification was the provision by which not a President but a Premier-President (*Rigiwanem*) was made ipso facto the head of the State. The rights of non-Esthonian citizens are confirmed, but military service is made obligatory on all.

The whole document is declared to be a model Constitution on the democratic plan, based on all the paper constitutions of the world, including especially that of Switzerland. It is remarkable for the broad rights it gives the people of initiating legislation, thus opening the way to drastic change; against this only the strong feeling of nationalism, highly developed in all the Baltic States, would seem to be a guarantee.

### LATVIA

Latvia, like the other Baltic States, has been hampered by need of money and trade. Its Government has aimed to make peace and to resume trade re-

lations. By a preliminary agreement, signed with Germany on May 5, plenipotentiaries were to be exchanged, Latvia's independence de jure was to be recognized as soon as an allied power conferred recognition, most favored nation treatment was assured in trade relations and otherwise, and arrangements to compensate Latvia for damage inflicted by German troops on Lettish territory were agreed upon. Still disclaiming responsibility for the von Bermondts' adventure, Germany, nevertheless, declared willingness that the war material and army property of the Bermondts' troops should be seized to cover these damages, and offered to assist in recovering all such property.

Peace with Soviet Russia was signed on Aug. 12, following long deliberations. The terms agreed upon were as follows:

1. Russia unconditionally recognizes the independence and sovereignty of Latvia, renounces all sovereign rights which Russia formerly held over the Latvian people and land.

2. Both parties mutually desist from claiming war costs. Considering that the losses and destruction brought about by the World War should be justly shared among all the world States, they undertake to endeavor to obtain the establishment of an international fund to cover the war costs; independently of this, they will, however, try to bring about mutual economic assistance among the States formed on former Russian territory.

3. Russia undertakes to restore to Latvia the property of the latter taken by Russia during the war, such as railway material, shipping, values from the banks, except gold and precious stones, various archives, documents, postal, telegraph and telephone installations and accessories, &c. Russia has, however, the right to pay in gold the value of such property in lieu of the property itself, and in this connection Latvia is to receive from Russia 4,000,000 rubles in gold (\$2,000,000) within two months from the day of the ratification of the treaty.

4. Latvia obtains the right to a forest concession of 100,000 dessiatines (about 250,000 acres).

5. Latvia is free from any responsibility in regard to Russia's debts.

6. Immediately after the mutual ratification of the peace treaty, a treaty with regard to commercial transport is to be concluded, and Latvia is not to charge higher freight rates for Russian goods than those charged for transport of local goods. Mutual diplomatic and consular



services are to be resumed at the same time.

7. Hostilities are to cease from midnight of Aug. 11-12.

The Lettish Government was variously stated to be strongly anti-Bolshevist. Some international flurry, however, was occasioned by the Lettish Government's appointment of Alfred Nagel as Secretary of the new Latvian Legation in Washington and by his arrest by United States immigration authorities on his arrival in this country on Aug. 21. Mr. Nagel protested against his detention, and declared that although a peace agreement had been signed with the Government of Lenin, Latvia did not lean toward Bolshevism, against which form of government, he stated, he had written several articles. He admitted that he was married to a German woman. The United States authorities alleged that Nagel had rendered secret service to the Germans during the war, and cabled the Latvian Government asking for his recall. The matter was closed by the announcement from Walter M. Chandler, legal adviser to the new republic, that Nagel's appointment had been canceled by the Latvian Government, and that he would return to Europe of his own accord.

## LITHUANIA

Since the breakdown of the Polish campaign against the Soviet Government the Lithuanians have been much in the public eye because of the strained feeling between Lithuania and Poland over the Polish occupation of Lithuanian territory, especially of Vilna, and the alleged collaboration between the Lithuanians and the Bolsheviks in driving the Poles out of the Lithuanian district. Like the other Baltic States, Lithuania had found it expedient to make peace with the Bolshevik Government. The negotiations were closed by the signing of a peace agreement on July 12. The terms of the agreement are:

Soviet Russia promised Lithuania an indemnity of 2,000,000 gold rubles, also timber-cutting rights on the Soviet side of the new boundary and the assumption of Lithuania's share of the Russian debt. Lithuania's territorial demands were mainly granted. The new frontier begins

on the north on the River Dvina to the east of Dvinsk. It runs slightly west of south along the series of lakes and rivers to the River Niemen at Vileika. From this point the line runs generally southwest, passing south of Lida and including the whole Province of Grodno with the City of Grodno, one of the most important in the territory claimed by the Lithuanians and embracing the vast forest area, 260,000 acres, in the Grodno vicinity, which ranks high in economic importance to Lithuania through the timber industry.

The dividing line with Soviet Russia ends at a point south of Augustowa, at the beginning of the western region still in dispute between Lithuania and Poland. At the northern extremity of the line, at one point along the eastern frontier and at the southern end, the Lithuanians have succeeded in gaining more territory than was originally claimed by them. Only the southern region, however, including the Grodno forests, is regarded as of either economic or political importance. The area gained at the north and to the east is sparsely populated and slightly cultivatable land, which, it is believed, was granted to Lithuania in order to permit the border line to follow the natural course of the waterways passing through the region.

The treaty also provides that Soviet Russia shall return to Lithuania all the archives and other movable property taken during the Bolshevik invasion of last year.

It was charged by the Poles that this treaty granted to the Bolsheviks the right to cross Lithuanian territory to attack the Poles, or that such a right had been conferred.

It was announced on July 15, after Poland's recognition of Lithuanian independence, that, under military pressure from the Bolsheviks and diplomatic insistence from Great Britain, the Poles had agreed to leave all the territory north of the Niemen, including the important town of Grodno, and to quit the southern districts of the province of Suwalki. This province is inhabited by Lithuanians, although included within "Congress Poland" in 1815 and the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw" in 1807. The Moscow Government in the peace treaty concluded with Lithuania in July expressly recognized as Lithuanian the territories which the Poles were then evacuating according to agreement. Filled with satisfaction at the conclusion of peace with Russia, and at the

prospect of regaining its long-claimed territories, the Lithuanian Government at once made preparations to move to Vilna, which the Lithuanians have always recognized as their national capital.

New troubles arose, however, toward the end of July, when it appeared that the Bolsheviks were not keeping their promises, and were playing the masters in Vilna, which they had occupied following the evacuation of the Poles, and had instituted a régime of terrorism. The Lithuanian Foreign Minister on July 23 sent a sharp note to Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, demanding that the Reds withdraw to the demarkation line agreed upon, and that the civil administration be transferred to Lithuania. To this the Russian Government again agreed, and on Aug. 6, at Kovno, signed its undertaking to evacuate the Lithuanian district. One district, lying north of Vilna, was to be evacuated within three days; another, extending from east of Vilna to north of Grodno, not later than Sept. 1. The remainder of Lithuanian occupied territory was to be evacuated when strategic reasons permitted. The administration of Vilna was to pass into Lithuanian hands. The peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania was then formally ratified by the Seim (Lithuanian Parliament).

Meanwhile martial law was instituted throughout Lithuania, and the Lithuanian General Staff bent all its efforts to bringing up the army strength to about 50,000 men, to be prepared for all emergencies. The Seim on Aug. 14 also authorized the issue of an internal loan of 100,000,000 marks for a term of four years, as well as a credit of about 60,000,000 marks to meet the cost of the projected army expansion. The Social Democrats protested strongly against the latter credit on the ground that it was but another step to strengthen military reaction. M. Puryckis, the Foreign Minister, replied that Lithuanian militarism was preferable to foreign militarism. He emphasized the gravity of the international situation, and urged that Lithuania must be prepared for heavy sacri-

fices to defend her dearly won liberty. By this time the Poles were driving the Bolsheviks back. With an eye to gaining strategic advantage against the Red forces in the north, the Poles began negotiations with the Lithuanians for the use of the railway lines Lydo-Molodestno and Grodno-Vilna, the districts which they had previously evacuated. The Lithuanians declared that they could not accede to this demand, as it conflicted with the Russian-Lithuanian Peace Treaty. The negotiations were reported broken off on Sept. 1. Meantime the Poles, as they swung north again, had entered Augustowo, just inside the Lithuanian border, and Suwalki, and declared that the populations of these and other Lithuanian towns had given them an enthusiastic welcome. This the Lithuanians denied. A Kovno dispatch dated Sept. 3 stated that the Lithuanians had attacked and driven back the Polish troops over the entire Grodno-Suwalki front and that they had recaptured several towns. M. Puryckis, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, through the Lithuanian Mission at Washington, complained to the United States of the Poles' "fresh invasion of Lithuanian territory." The Poles, on their part, appealed to the League of Nations, asking it to mediate between themselves and the Lithuanians. While the Polish armies were retreating before the Soviet forces, the Polish note said, the Lithuanian Government concluded an agreement with Moscow authorizing the Soviet Army to make use of Lithuanian territory for its passage and the establishment of a military base. This, the note pointed out, was a breach of neutrality. The note charged the Lithuanians with excesses toward Polish adherents, with refusing to recognize the Supreme Council's frontier, with forcing the Polish troops, reluctantly, to fight, and with taking sides with the Bolsheviks.

Meanwhile the Bolshevik recovery occurred. The advance of the Polish Northern Army by Sept. 7 had been checked on the left by the Lithuanians, and on the right and centre by the Reds. The fate of the Lithuanian territories in dispute was still in doubt.

# Turkey Under Reconstruction

## British Progress in Palestine

### TURKEY

**T**HE reconstruction of the Turkish Cabinet deserves more attention than could be given it last month. In its most obvious aspect it was the result of Damad Ferid's success in compelling a reluctant Turkey to accept the peace terms signed at Sèvres on Aug. 10. These were regarded by all parties in Constantinople as putting an end to the Ottoman Empire as a political and military power, although not as an institution capable of infinite diplomatic intrigue. Moreover, there is still the rebel military and political organization of Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal Pasha at Angora, Anatolia!

Damad Ferid, who as Grand Vizier astonished even his friends by his utterly un-Turkish characteristics (for he acts first and argues afterward), showed himself a non-believer in eleventh-hour conversions. His main idea was to have a Cabinet with which the Allies, particularly the British, could work without friction. This explains the absence of Reshid Bey from his new slate.

Of the new men, Mustapha Sabri Effendi is conspicuous as having been a leader, under Damad Ferid, of Ententists. His return to the post of Sheik-ul-Islam is regarded as significant of the general policy to be adopted by the Grand Vizier in making the great renunciation acceptable to the Turks, particularly those of Western education and cosmopolitan views. The continued obedience to the Kaliph-Sultan in spiritual matters, at least, as far as Islam (Turkish Mohammedism) is concerned, has been taken as a matter of course by the Allies, and the Grand Vizier, according to his propagandists, intends to use this allegiance as his chief weapon in fighting Mustapha Kemal. A single proof of this lasting tradition was the recent defection of Kiazim Kara Bekir, reported due to his religious conservatism rather than to his love for the Allies or his respect for the new Government.

Of the other Ministers, two were obviously rewarded for their services in putting their names to the treaty, thereby potentially risking their necks, and Djemal Bey was probably promoted for his strenuous support of his chief in the same matter. Still, his appointment was regarded on somewhat insufficient grounds as a recognition of his influence.

Rechid Mumtaz also owed his position to his open sympathy with the policy of reconciliation and to his advocacy of keeping friendship with Great Britain.

Now the situation is complicated by the Parliamentary question. When the Sultan dissolved Parliament on April 11 he ordered a new election and a meeting of the new Chamber on Aug. 11. As there was neither time nor inclination to hold such an election, and as the Sultan dissolved Parliament without the consent of the Senate, contrary to the Constitution, the Damad Ferid Government continued to administer State affairs with the indorsement of the Sultan, but without Parliamentary sanction. So the Angora propagandists have little difficulty in proving that the transactions of the present Government were illegal from a political point of view.

The new Sheik-ul-Islam started a campaign against alcoholism and prostitution, the growth of the former being in defiance of the Koran and that of the latter being principally due to economic distress. The new reforms prohibit Moslems to sell alcohol, and Moslem women are forbidden to enter trades and professions where they will associate with men. It is further proposed to enact that women shall not leave houses in male company, that they shall not promenade with males, and that the dress they wear shall be prescribed by the authorities.

To deal with the admittedly great evil of clandestine prostitution among Moslems, the Sheik-ul-Islam proposed that the Moslem inhabitants of each quarter

shall be called upon to inform the police, who will be empowered, after inquiry, to expel the delinquents.

These measures are denounced in liberal circles as mediaeval, and it is pointed out that the attempt to restrict woman's work would drive hundreds of telephone operators, typists and Government clerks from their positions, while the attempt to regulate habits of dress and conduct by the police would open the way to blackmail—just as happened long ago in Western Europe.

The heir apparent to the Sultanate, Prince Abdul Medjid Effendi, the uncle of Mohamed VI., was placed in restraint on Sept. 10, on the charge that he was about to depart to join fortunes with the Nationalists at Angora. Already, in July, he had sent a letter to the Sultan renouncing his rights of succession. The secret police of the Grand Vizier then discovered letters showing correspondence exchanged between Mustapha Kemal and the heir apparent.

Palace officials of the new régime predicted momentary collapse of the Nationalists or, at least, their capitulation to the Sultan, who, through Prince Omar Selmi, son of the late Mohamed V., has told Mustapha Kemal that, as peace is an accomplished fact, he may as well disperse his army and Government and save his life while there is still time.

The weakness of Kemal's military position was said to be illustrated by the fact that his negotiations with the Russian Soviets had fallen through, that no Bolshevik cavalry had reached Angora through Armenia, and that the celebration inaugurated by Kiazim Kara Bekir, commanding the Nationalists at Erzerum, to welcome the cavalry of Trotzky did not materialize, as Bekir had joined the loyalists.

Nationalist propaganda, which came to hand, showed that Kemal, following the advice of the Soviet mission with him, had attempted to mobilize the women. The Moslem women of Bili, an important town in Asia Minor, issued an appeal to be armed and sent to the front, as their men had proved "too cowardly" to protect their first capital, Broussa, and other sacred places.

Following is a specimen of another kind of propaganda which appeared in the form of a leaflet on Aug. 20:

The general situation is turning in our favor, and the following announcement will serve to enlighten public opinion. The Bolsheviki who have risen up against



A PORTER IN CONSTANTINOPLE, WITH A GOAT ON HIS BACK, SETTING OUT FOR THE MARKET ON THE ISLAND OF PROTI, WHERE THE RED CROSS IS CARING FOR A THOUSAND RUSSIAN REFUGEES

(Photo American Red Cross)

European tyranny have annihilated the Polish armies and are about to attack and cross through Rumania and Bulgaria to rescue Constantinople. Neither the British nor the French Government can mobilize against the Bolsheviki, because their soldiers would make common cause with Bolshevism. British and French Bolsheviki profoundly sympathize with their Russian comrades. Our victory is approaching. Already the 11th Bolshevik Army, composed of Tartar Moslems, has crossed the Caucasus frontier and is coming to our aid. Their troops are well equipped and armed, and they are bringing us money.

## SYRIA

Turkish Nationalists made repeated efforts to destroy the part of the Bagdad Railway running through Cilicia.



On Aug. 19 they were defeated in a fierce battle by the French on the Tarsus and Bozanti road, in which they lost 2,000 men and the French 160. The Christian population in North Cilicia, which is actually in Turkish territory



SIR HERBERT SAMUEL  
*British High Commissioner for Palestine*

according to the Treaty of Sèvres, demanded autonomy under a French mandate. As late as Sept. 7 a report from Constantinople said that the French forces in the regions of Urfa, Aintab, and Adana were holding their positions with difficulty.

After his military operations in Syria, which dethroned Emir Feisal as King and established a new Government at Damascus, General Gouraud arrived at Zaleh, where he delivered an address outlining the French policy to be pursued. He declared that that day marked the consummation of their ideals; that if the eight months it had taken to establish the new order of things had seemed long, the people should consider

the difficulties France had worked under. He cited the loyalty of the Moroccans and Senegalese to France as examples of the devotion France always received from her adopted subjects. He held up the defeat of Emir Feisal's forces at Tel Kalah and the dispersing of the Sherif's army at Damascus as warnings against double-dealing and intrigue. Then he declared the four gazas of Baalbek, Bekaa, Hasbeiya and Rasheiya to be annexed to the Greater Lebanon, as crowning his praise of Lebanon's unswerving loyalty. Now the past must be forgotten and new duties met. Emigration must be forbidden, to conserve defensive and labor power. Revenges and reprisals he would suppress with a strong hand. Let all beware of foreign counselors, as Feisal should have done. The cedar symbolized their two fatherlands, Lebanon and France!

In the last week in August Emir Feisal reached Rome and was immediately exploited by the Francophobic press; columns were devoted to his stories of the French usurpation of Syria. Meanwhile he had caused to be distributed at Cairo the diary which he had kept during the whole affair, presenting the day-to-day story of his side of the controversy.

In his diary Feisal dwells upon the fact that his departure for Europe was delayed until he had accepted General Gouraud's ultimatum and had fulfilled its conditions. Feisal complains that, although he postponed the sittings of the Syrian Congress, demobilized the troops, withdrew his army from the front and gave orders to accept the Syrian currency, General Gouraud still kept up his Syrian campaign. But he does not admit the evident fact that General Gouraud's advance was caused by Feisal's delay in taking each step to submission until he was forced.

## PALESTINE

The archaeological phase of the Samuel administration in the Holy Land already showed fruits. On Aug. 17 it was announced that Jewish road builders, who were constructing a Government highway near Tabariyeh, had unearthed

ruins identified as the ancient city of Tiberias, which played an important part in Jewish and Christian history. On Sept. 5 it was announced that the British Archaeological School of Jeru-

British would employ officials from among the Sheiks themselves. There would be neither compulsory military service nor disarmament. The British Government would help the people to govern themselves.

This speech roused the enthusiasm of the Sheiks, who welcomed the British Commissioner. Three fugitive Sheiks from Jerusalem, implicated in the Easter riots, asked for an amnesty, which Sir Herbert granted to them; many jostled each other in their eagerness to affix their seals to the document, which expressed their desire for British rule.

### MESOPOTAMIA

The situation in Mesopotamia assumed serious proportions; but in London, even while volunteer officers were being called for, the British accepted that situation without any show of popular excitement. Those who had condemned the Government's policy there tolerantly accepted the burden to "see it through."

The military features of the situation were as follows: The British have in the country between 75,000 and 80,000 men, which had been distributed at fortified positions along the extensive lines of communication and at posts on the frontier. These positions and posts were periodically attacked by bands of Turks and Arabs numbering from 4,000 men down to a few score, but always superior in number to the body attacked. Of all the War Office reports on the subject issued during the month, that of Aug. 22 is most informing in regard to the distribution of the enemy and the positions subjected to attack.

A determined rebel attack on the railway bridge in the Bakuba area was beaten off, although the rebels in arms numbered some 4,000 men. A post in the Kirkuk area was fired upon; and in the Euphrates area 2,000 tribesmen were investing Kufa, some 1,000 watching Hillah, with 4,000 more said to be in reserve. An English column carried out punitive operations, built new defenses, and defeated a rebel band. There were minor raids in the Bagdad area and in the Feliujah-Ramadi area. Most of the



SCENE OF ARAB ATTACKS ON ISOLATED BRITISH GARRISONS IN MESOPOTAMIA

salem was about to begin the excavation of Ascalon, one of the cities of the ancient Philistines and the scene of notable events in the days of the Crusades.

During the last week in August, Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner, made a tour of the towns east of the Jordan, part of the journey being under the auspices of Majid Pasha, ex-General of the Sherifian Army, and said to be the most powerful Sheik between the Jordan and the desert. At Es Salt there was a gathering of Bedouin chiefs, to whom Sir Herbert made an address.

Sir Herbert expatiated to the Bedouin chiefs on the advantages of coming into the British system of administration of Palestine. This system insured against outside attack and secured honest expenditure of taxes. There would be free trade with Palestine, and a bank would be opened to assist commerce. The

available fighting men in the Euphrates region, numbering some 34,000, have been in arms recently against the British, but were driven back with severe handling.

Also informing is the letter of Mrs. E. L. Buchanan, sent to her sister in London just before the attack on Shah-roban, where she was captured. She wrote from Bagdad:

All we ladies have our orders directly anything happens (which won't in Bagdad, where there are machine guns and reinforcements on the way) to go across the river to the citadel; a launch will be sent directly, and we must go and not wait for anything. In the outlying districts it is very different, for we have only Arab soldiers armed with rifles. A fortnight ago there was a big rising, and armored cars went out and shot into the air, but that did not frighten the Arabs, so they shot into them and killed ten. The mob then dispersed very quickly. The ringleader, who started the trouble by preaching in one of the mosques against the British, was captured and sent to jail in India.

Meanwhile, it was hoped that the mission of Sir Percy Cox, to attempt to educate the Arabs in the mysteries of self-government, might have a quieting effect. Sir Percy was appointed High Commissioner for the region some months ago, but, for certain reasons, delayed his departure. The mission em-

phasized the fact that the British Government had never wavered from the policy laid down in the Anglo-French Declaration of November, 1918, setting up an independent Arab State in Mesopotamia with the advice and assistance of a mandatory power. This task was conferred on the British Government at the San Remo Conference. The terms of the projected civil administration were not defined, but the military administration was the necessary result of the abandonment of the region by the Turkish Government at Constantinople.

### PERSIA

According to advices received at Washington, the Bolshevik menace to Persia was removed, at least for the time being, by the success of the Russian and Persian Cossacks there, and the successes of General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevik commander in South Russia. On Aug. 20 came the news directly from Teheran that the Reds had retired on Resht, pursued by the Persian Cossacks, while the British force had occupied Menjil, already evacuated by the Reds. The European forces had taken so small a share in the military operations, it was stated, because the Persian Government wished to keep them in reserve as long as possible.

## Tangled Affairs of Japan and China

### Tokio's Attitude Regarding California

#### JAPAN

THE financial and economic panic which overtook Japan in the Spring has in no way permanently impaired the internal situation, according to a statement issued by M. Inouye, Governor of the Bank of Japan. Analyzing financial conditions in the empire, he declared that both credit and currency were good, commerce was growing rapidly, and the balance of trade was in Japan's favor. The national debt, though large, imposed but a small burden per capita, and the standard of living generally was growing higher.

Externally the situation was far from favorable. The Japanese occupation of Siberia continued, as did also the deadlock with China. There were renewed Japanese protests against the alleged misinterpretation of their motives and intentions in both places. M. Obata, the Japanese Minister to China, interviewed in Peking, denied the charge that Japan was deliberately fostering turmoil and disorder in China in order to advance her own selfish designs. This accusation he declared to be ridiculous, asserting that Japan's only desire was to place the peace of the Far East on a safe basis.

Marquis Okuma, former Premier and one of Japan's Elder Statesmen, in receiving the party of visiting Congressmen from the United States on Sept. 5, asked that Japan be permitted to have a free hand for her work in China, especially in Korea, where her intervention, he declared, was directed toward the betterment of conditions. Just as Japan had acquiesced in the American occupation of Hawaii and the occupation of the Philippines, he said, accepting the explanation that it was for the benefit of the peoples affected, so should America recognize Japan's good intentions in China and Siberia.

Regarding Korea, the Japanese Governor General, Admiral Minoru Saito, gave out for publication an initial scheme of Korean reconstruction, with which his name will henceforth be associated. "Local Self-Government in Korea" is the specific theme of the message, which starts by declaring that the Imperial Government has elaborated a project for establishing local consultative bodies in Korea to be created under the personal direction of the Governor. Though the powers to be conferred are limited, the project recognizes the principle of popular election, and may be said to embody a measure of home rule.

There was little evidence, however, despite the advantages brought to the land of Chosen by the Japanese, that the Koreans, awakened from their national and racial lethargy by the education which the Japanese were at first compelled to force upon them, and which they now seek eagerly of their own volition, had abated their distrust and hatred of the whole Japanese régime. The Korean National Association of Honolulu on Sept. 4 received copies of the documents presented to the members of Congress touring Japan. One of these, which contained a plea of Korean women, read as follows:

Day and night we will scheme to regain our lost land. In the minds of our children we will instill hatred for the Japanese. We ourselves will offer everything for liberty and independence. We would rather die and be free spirits of Korea than live and be subjects of the Mikado.

The strained feeling between the

United States and Japan over the coming referendum in California continued to arouse much comment in the Japanese press. Mr. Colby, Secretary of State at Washington, has kept in close touch with Governor Stephens of California on the subject; on Sept. 3 he had a personal conference with the Governor, the results of which were satisfactory. Secretary Colby continued his discussions with Mr. Shidehara, the Japanese Ambassador to this country, designed to effect a permanent understanding in the matter of Japanese immigration to the United States. It was officially denied that the United States Government contemplated a solution of the California problem by proposing to Congress that all Japanese now in this country should be given the right of citizenship, on condition that the admission of Japanese be thenceforth prohibited. Governor Stephens, after his interview with Secretary Colby, said there was no way in which the referendum called for November could be revoked, as it had been ordered in full accordance with the regulations of State law, on a petition signed by the requisite number of competent citizens.

Many prominent Japanese deplored the present situation, and called for mutual understanding and sympathy in order to secure a satisfactory solution. M. Hanihara, Japanese Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, published a statement in the Tokio Yomiuri on Aug. 20 in which he declared that a spirit of "deadly earnestness" was now needed. Though he saw no immediate danger of a clash, he feared, he said, the effect of long-continued pin-pricks on both sides. He urged an amicable attitude, and declared that the race question in California should not be allowed to remain a menace. No trifling could be afforded in a case where the stakes were so vast and far reaching.

We must go [he said] straightway to the root of every anti-Japanese and anti-American agitation or movement with the axe of ruthless publicity and education. If both parties are determined on a square deal we may look forward with absolute confidence to lasting peace and friendship on the Pacific.

A similar view was variously expressed by the Yomiuri in its special



illustrated edition in English issued in honor of the American Congressional party. This edition contained constructively critical contributions of Japanese-American relations written by noted



TAKASHI HARA  
*Premier of Japan*

Japanese officials, including Viscount Kentaro Kaneko, former special representative to the United States; Baron Shibusawa, Chairman of the Tokio Bankers Association; Marquis Okuma, former Premier and Foreign Minister; Baron Sakatani, former Minister of Finance and now financial adviser to China, and Viscount Kato, former Foreign Minister.

Anti-American attacks were increasingly frequent, however, in the Japanese press. One organization, the Association for the Study of Foreign Policy, decided late in August to hold a mass meeting and appeal to the public on the ground that differences of race and religion must be at the bottom of the anti-Japanese movement in California, that the attitude of the Foreign Office was lukewarm, and that there were indications that the relations between Japan and the United States were growing worse.

A great reception was given to the Congressional party in its week's stay in Tokio early in September. Dinners and entertainments by noted Japanese officials were lavished upon the visitors. The entire Cabinet and 600 Japanese and American men and women attended a luncheon in their honor held in the Imperial Hotel on Sept. 3. Many addresses were made, the predominant note of which was the necessity of cordial relations between the two countries and the amicable adjustment of the immigration problem. [The California situation is treated elsewhere in special articles.]

The entire delegation of Japan to the International Conference on Communications, called for Sept. 15, arrived in Washington on Aug. 20. The delegation was headed by the Japanese Ambassador, Kijuro Shidehara, and was composed of ten members, including three Commissioners and a staff of expert assistants. The three Commissioners represented the Ministry of Communications and the military and naval authorities, respectively. All political activities were disclaimed by the delegation, which intimated that Japan regarded the conference as of a purely technical nature.

## CHINA

The situation in China following the overthrow of the Anfu party by General Chang Tso-lin, General Tsao Kun and General Wu Pei-fu was still obscure. Wu Pei-fu, a divisional commander under Tsao Kun, to whose initial activities the defeat of the Anfu Marshal Tuan Shi-jui was ultimately due, declared himself in favor of a people's assembly, but the attitude of the leading Tsuchuns, or Provincial Governors, was still apparently hostile to a real Parliamentary Government.

New troubles for both the Canton and Peking Governments were brewing toward the end of August. General Chang Ching-ming, Civil Governor of the southern part of Fukien, in consequence of being removed from office by the Canton Government on the charge that he was in secret sympathy with Peking, revolted on Aug. 16 and advanced on Canton. The Military Governor of Canton prepared his army to meet the rebel

forces. Canton was heavily policed and converted into barracks at the end of August. It was reported at this time that the Southwestern Government was taking steps for the overthrow of the Peking Government. Dr. Sun Yat-sen,



SAO KE ALFRED SZE  
China's new Ambassador to Washington  
(© Harris & Ewing)

the first President of China, Dr. Wu Ting-fang, the former Chinese Ambassador to the United States, and Tang Shu-yi, all leaders of the Southern Government, issued a proclamation on Aug. 28 declaring that they looked for the "overthrow of the illegal Government at Peking" through General Tang Chiyao, whom they lauded as the "George Washington of China." General Tang, who holds military control over the Provinces of Yunnan, Kwei-chow and Sze-chuen, in opposition to the Peking Government, is one of China's youngest Generals. Military headquarters for the new movement were established in the eastern part of Sze-chuen.

Despite these hostile preparations, the Peking Premier, Ching Yung-peng, asserted on Aug. 28 that peace with the Southern Government was an accomplished fact since the elimination of the pro-Japanese Anfuites. Though the agreement left the Yunnan group unappeased, the Premier expressed his belief that Yunnan would finally accept the reconciliation. He was optimistic about the general situation, declaring that the huge deficit between the monthly national income of \$5,000,000 and the expenditure of \$13,000,000 for the same period would be squared by the reduction of the army and the encouragement of industries. The disbandment already effected, he stated, had resulted in a monthly saving of \$4,000,000. He further said that the idea of a people's assembly launched by Wu Pei-fu had been elaborated by discussion far beyond the original proposal. The only legitimate object of such an assembly, he declared, would be the framing of a new Constitution and the election of a new Parliament. The Government, he insisted, would not accept the idea of a superseding body, which would be unrepresentative and without legal status.

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, former Minister to China, who for the past year has occupied the post of legal adviser to the Chinese Government, resigned this position on Aug. 28. Dr. Reinsch on Sept. 5 presented to the Chinese Government through its Cabinet a memorandum warning it that it would be impossible to execute the consortium loan so long as the present military Government exists, and implying that American recognition might be withdrawn. The memorandum made a plea for a convention to frame a new national Constitution.

A new Cabinet was appointed on Aug. 11, as follows:

Ching Yung-peng....	Prime Minister and Minister of War.
Dr. Wu Yen.....	Foreign Affairs.
Admiral Sah Chen- ping .....	Navy.
Chang Chih-tan....	Interior.
Yeh Kung-chow....	Communications.
Wang Nai-ping.....	Commerce.
Chow Tsze-chi.....	Finance.
Fan Yuan-lien.....	Education.
Tung-kang .....	Justice.

All the new Ministers are personal friends of the President with the exception of Wang Nai-ping, who is the nominee of Chang Tso-lin.

Dissolution of the Chinese-Japanese military compact for combined wartime defense of China's borders has been agreed to by Japan. China sought termination of the compact immediately after the signing of the Versailles treaty by the other powers, but Japan's consent was granted only at the end of August. The official announcement of Sept. 1 stated that Japan had also consented to the retire-

ment of Japanese officers employed as instructors in the Chinese frontier army. Japan has continuously denied that these instruction officers had taken any part, direct or indirect, in the factional fighting in China.

Two diplomatic changes were announced on Sept. 1. Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the United States, would be transferred to London to represent China in the League of Nations, and Alfred Sze, the Minister to London, was to take Mr. Koo's place in Washington.

## Progress of Latin-American Republics

### Mexico's First Peaceful Election

#### MEXICO

GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON was elected President of Mexico on Sept. 5, for the term of six years beginning Dec. 1. He will have the full support of both houses of Congress elected on Aug. 1, as the Liberal Constitutionalist Party, to which Obregon belongs, has a majority in the Senate and 150 of the 240 members in the Chamber of Deputies. The voting for President was very light, few of the more educated and wealthy Mexicans having much faith in the ballot, but Obregon's triumph was decisive. His two opponents, Alfredo Robles Dominguez and Nicholas Zuniga Miranda, were snowed under. Señor Dominguez was the candidate favored by the American oil interests, and he had undertaken to influence the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic party against the Constitution of 1917 and the plan of Agua Prieta. Señor Miranda is known as Mexico's perpetual candidate, who has been running at every election since the early days of the Diaz regime.

More significant than the election is the fact that it was unaccompanied by disorder. For the first time in half a century ballots have not been the fore-runners of bullets. Obregon's policy is

constructive. He believes Mexico has more to gain by being a friend than a foe of the United States. In his platform he favored facilities for foreign capital, but naturally upheld the right of Mexicans to the soil of their country against monopolists who are clamoring for foreign intervention to tighten their grip on oil and cattle lands.

Adolfo de la Huerta, the Provisional President, opened the session of the new Congress on Sept. 1 in person. Reading his message to the Deputies, he assured them that the Government's returns from its oil wells would "cover almost all the national budget." Commercial treaties were to be revived and all Mexicans who had suffered losses during recent revolutions were to be indemnified. The army was to be reduced and improved by a general staff and an aviation corps. All Mexico's financial obligations, internal and external, would be paid. The allotment of land throughout the republic and votes for women were favored.

In an interview with a correspondent of The New York Times, President de la Huerta said he considered the labor problem the most important for the future, as any Government which wished to avoid disaster must direct developments in the labor world, not obstruct them. He announced himself as favor-

ing the single tax system and said a decree was being studied to cut the Federal taxes from 50 per cent. to 30 per cent., the deficiency being made up by increased taxation on large landed estates. He also proposed a 100-kilometer dry zone along the American border, and a bill to that effect is being prepared.

Esteban Cantu, Governor of the Northern District of Lower California, whose efforts to retain his position as semi-independent dictator of that rich province were noted in *CURRENT HISTORY* for September, yielded before the Federal Government's determined measures. The Government had sent an adequate force to subdue the rebellion and had appointed Luis M. Salazar as Governor in place of Cantu. The latter agreed to surrender his office on being assured he would not be punished for any of his acts in the past, and on Aug. 16 it was officially announced that his rebellion was at an end.

Work of mustering out the followers of Francisco Villa was completed on Aug. 27 at Tlahualilo, Durango. Arms and ammunition were surrendered and pay for three months was given to the men. The Mexican Government is buying agricultural implements in the United States for their use.

Pedro Zamora, the last of the bandits, began operations in the State of Jalisco in August by sacking a town and kidnapping twenty girls, later sacking Mascote and Cuale. Near the latter place, it was reported on Aug. 21, he captured a party of four mining engineers who were examining properties in Jalisco, including W. B. Johnstone, a British subject, and also Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hoyle, Americans living on a ranch near by. Zamora demanded 50,000 pesos ransom for the Englishman and 200,000 for each of the five Americans. A force of 5,000 Federal troops was at once started in pursuit of Zamora. He and his 400 followers were routed in a battle in the town of Divisadora on Aug. 27, when forty-three of his men were killed and the others dispersed. All his prisoners succeeded in escaping or were set free and the Federal troops con-

tinued in pursuit of Zamora in the mountains.

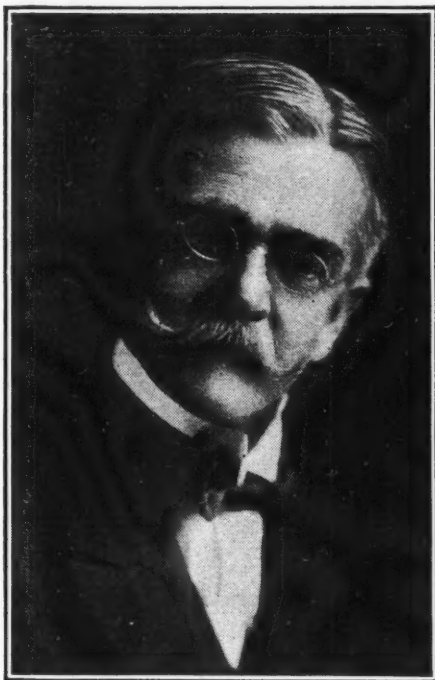
Threats by the Mexican Government that oil wells belonging to companies which did not pay their export taxes by Aug. 31 would be sealed had the effect of making most of them pay up arrears running back several months, which had been in dispute during the Carranza régime. The companies had complained that the tax, based on the average price of oil, was too high, as they were getting only 90 cents a barrel at the port. The Government produced bills paid by steamers at Tampico showing prices on a rising scale from \$1 in January to \$1.40, \$1.50 and the latest sales on Aug. 8 at \$2.50. This defeated the last effort of the companies, and about 2,600,000 pesos in gold were paid in taxes for the period up to the end of June. Settlement was hastened by the fact that some new American companies were paying their taxes without objection, and complaining that the older concerns, by evading their dues, were able to compete unjustly. The State Department at Washington is not backing either side, but is simply demanding justice for Americans who have valid titles, and refuses to bolster up defective ones. That no serious trouble is anticipated may be judged from the fact, announced on Sept. 9, that the Mexican Petroleum Company, already one of the largest producers of oil in Mexico and holder of some 600,000 acres, had acquired a forty-year lease on an additional 800,000 acres of prospective oil territory.

Mexico, in common with most other countries, is having an epidemic of Bolshevik propaganda, and is dealing with it energetically. Colonel Salvadore Perez, who had been preaching Bolshevism with a Russian companion, started a Soviet in the State of Campeche. A troop of cavalry, sent out for the purpose, captured him and brought him to Mexico City for trial. Captain Trinidad Sanchez and Sergeant Roman Fernandez, who started trouble in Vera Cruz, were caught and executed. Nearly a thousand officers have been arrested on charges of political activity, many of whom, doubtless, were actuated by the prospect of



losing their jobs, as Mexico proposes to reduce her army by more than half.

Factories and mills are operating at full capacity, and cotton manufacture, Mexico's leading industry, is flourishing.



DR. BELISARIO PORRAS  
*Newly elected President of Panama*  
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Altogether, the outlook in Mexico is for a long period of prosperity.

### CENTRAL AMERICA

**SALVADOR**—Approving the Government's policy regarding a Central American Union, the Salvadorean Congress on Aug. 27 passed a resolution favoring the political unity of the five republics on the basis of the Federal Constitution of 1898, when the former Greater Republic of Central America, formed by the union of Nicaragua, Salvador and Honduras, was dissolved as unsatisfactory to Salvador.

**COSTA RICA**—Right of suffrage was granted on Aug. 23 to all citizens of Costa Rica, including women. Those who would exercise the right must be able to read and write and be citizens

by birth, naturalization or adoption. They will have the right to hold State, Municipal and Congressional offices.

**GUATEMALA**—Carlos Herrera, who succeeded Estrada Cabrera, the deposed President of Guatemala, as Provisional President, taking the oath of office on July 25, was chosen permanent President in the elections which closed on Aug. 29, having received nearly 100,000 votes, against less than 5,000 for his nearest opponent. He will hold office for six years.

**HONDURAS**—The Captain of the United States cruiser *Cleveland*, accompanied by the American Minister, on Aug. 12 visited President Lopez Gutierrez to deliver to him personally an autographed letter by President Wilson recognizing the present Government of Honduras.

**NICARAGUA**—Alarm has been occasioned at Corinto, the most important Pacific port of Nicaragua, by a subsidence of the earth along that section of the coast. An island just off the harbor was reported sinking on Aug. 31, and the railroad company operating the line to Managua, the capital, announced that no more trains would be run between Corinto and Leon, fifty-four miles up the railroad. The subsidence was believed to be the effect of volcanic action.

**PANAMA**—Dr. Belisario Porras, who was elected President of Panama for a third term, paid a visit to the United States before assuming office on Oct. 3. Serious differences have arisen between Panama and the American Canal Zone authorities, and the facts in the dispute are embodied in a report of a commission appointed by the Panama Government. It alleges that the United States is monopolizing private trade by selling goods through its commissaries in the Canal Zone, where no private business is allowed, the Government selling everything from locomotives to chewing gum. Land not required for military or naval purposes and belonging to Panamanians, it is alleged, is expropriated at arbitrary prices. Panama and Colon have been injured by the destruction of wharf facilities, the report says, and new terminals are restricted to Balboa

and Cristobal in the Canal Zone. The Panama Railroad is charged with discrimination against native merchants. One remedy suggested is that the United States abandon its function as a merchant and establish complete free trade on the Isthmus.

Establishment in Panama of an International Institute for the Research of Tropical Diseases is proposed as a memorial to the late Major Gen. William C. Gorgas, who did so much for the health of Panama.

### SOUTH AMERICA

John Barrett retired on Sept. 1 from the office of Director General of the Pan-American Union and was succeeded by Dr. L. U. Rowe, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Barrett was Director General for fourteen years. In a farewell address which he delivered on Aug. 21 in Washington at the closing session of the Summer School of Pan-American and Foreign Commerce he gave some striking statistics of trade between the United States and Latin-American countries. This had increased in fifteen years from \$456,621,111 to \$2,927,167,732, or 441 per cent. American exports rose from \$156,542,867 to \$1,156,568,952, or 639 per cent., while imports increased from \$300,078,244 to \$1,770,580,780, or 490 per cent. Brazil now leads South America in exports to the United States, with Argentina second, Chile third and Colombia fourth.

Announcement was made in Washington on Sept. 1 that plans are under way for a tour of Latin-American countries by General Pershing to bring about still better relations with the United States and as a delicate compliment to our sister republics.

**ARGENTINA**—President Irigoyen is considering the suppression of horse racing in Argentina, where, in spite of the high cost of living, betting has increased on the Buenos Aires race track from an average of 800,000 pesos weekly to 3,000,000 pesos. This is in a city where eighty of each hundred families occupy only one room, owing to the shortage of houses. Another remedial

measure, embodied in a reciprocal treaty with the United States, signed in August, refuses permits for commercial travelers to sell alcoholic beverages.

Foreigners can be deported from Argentina only after a trial before a Federal Judge, according to a law passed by Congress at the demand of the Argentine Federation of Labor, which alleged that foreigners participating in strikes were arbitrarily deported as anarchists. The Socialist Party, which is very strong, on Aug. 26 cabled to the British Labor Party supporting its attitude in opposing a blockade of Russia, and declaring that Argentine laborers were resolved "to adhere to the Russian revolution and to support the workers of Europe and America for the defeat of reactionary capitalism."

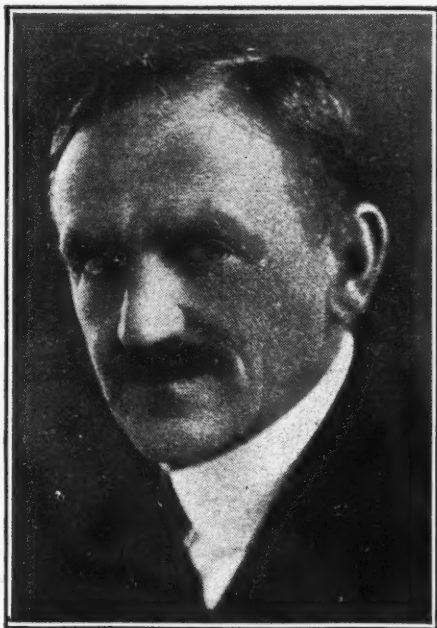
**BOLIVIA**—Great Britain has recognized the new Government of Bolivia, established after the successful revolution in July, related in *CURRENT HISTORY* for August (Page 820). Elections for a new National Assembly will be held in December, and that body will decide whether a President shall be chosen by direct vote of the people or selected by the Assembly.

Bolivia, in August, obtained a loan of \$10,000,000 from a New York banking firm, and, on account of the depreciation of French exchange, was able to pay off debts held in France amounting to 56,600,000 francs and save about \$3,000,000, which will be used to construct the La Quiaca Railway, completing all-rail connection between La Paz and Buenos Aires.

**BRAZIL**—Elaborate preparations were made at Rio de Janeiro to entertain the King and Queen of the Belgians, who sailed from Zeebrugge aboard the Brazilian battleship Sao Paulo on Sept. 1, to return the visit of President Pessoa to Belgium last year.

President Pessoa on Sept. 3 signed a decree revoking the banishment of the former imperial family of Brazil. This affects a score of members of the Braganza family and will enable them to return to Brazil with the bodies of the late Emperor, Dom Pedro, and the late Empress.

The International Olympic Committee at Antwerp has decided that the intermediate Olympic games of 1922 shall be held at Rio de Janeiro. Baron Pierre de



DR. L. U. ROWE  
*New Director General of the Pan-American  
Union*

(© Harris & Ewing)

Coubertin, President of the committee, will visit Brazil to arrange the details and will be accompanied by Elwood S. Brown of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Rio de Janeiro is about to establish a municipal theatre, where national dramas, written by native authors and performed by native talent, will be produced. The bill passed by the Municipal Council provides for the creation of a dramatic stock company, of which two-thirds of the actors are to be native Brazilians.

**CHILE**—Owing to the closeness of the vote in the recent Presidential election, in which Arturo Alessandri was credited with 179 electoral votes and Luis Borge with 174, a situation was created resembling the Tilden-Hayes controversy in this country, and a solution was

adopted similar to the Electoral Commission of 1876. A Court of Honor was formed, composed of two former Vice Presidents and the presiding officers of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the four choosing three others, one from each of the rival parties and the third a prominent citizen of no political affiliations. The seven members of the court began an examination of the returns, and were reported as making progress on Sept. 13.

Through a dispatch published in the *Nacion* of Buenos Aires on Sept. 10, that the Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile and Peru had been settled by the payment by Chile to Peru of £6,000,000 for the two provinces, it first became known that President Wilson had suggested that the two countries seek to end their differences by direct negotiations. He had offered the use of the gunboat *Tacoma*, which was in the Bay of Callao, for the delegates. The *Nacion's* dispatch, however, was unconfirmed and the State Department up to Sept. 13 had not been advised that any meetings had taken place on the ship, though it was not doubted that a sincere effort was being made by both countries to compose their differences.

Chile is nearing completion of her naval program of 1910, which provided for the building of two dreadnoughts and six destroyers. One dreadnought had just been completed in an English yard when the World War broke out, and it was taken over by the British, was renamed the *Canada*, and was engaged in the battle of Jutland. Now Great Britain has returned it to Chile, together with four destroyers, two having been received before the war. This leaves one dreadnought needed to complete the program.

**ECUADOR**—Dr. José Luis Tamayo was inaugurated President of Ecuador at Quito on Aug. 31.

**PARAGUAY**—Dr. Manuel Gondra was inaugurated President of Paraguay on Aug. 15. Soon afterward the Bank of Spain in Paraguay failed, precipitating a sudden monetary crisis, and the President in a message to Congress on Sept. 10 recommended the issue of 30,-

000,000 pesos currency with which to make loans to banks for six months to tide over the crisis.

**PERU**—Four American naval officers left New York on Aug. 25 for Callao to reorganize the Peruvian Navy and take charge of the Peruvian Naval Academy. They are Commanders F. B. Freyer and Lewis D. Causey, Lieutenant Commander Charles G. Davy, retired, and Lieutenant Paul Fitzsimons. They were appointed by President Wilson under a special act of Congress, will be gone indefinitely, will hold the rank of Captain in the Peruvian Navy, and will be paid by the Government of that country.

Peru has also asked the United States for thirty American educators, fifteen to fill administrative and university positions and fifteen for secondary school work.

**URUGUAY**—Julio Maria Sosa, editor of the Montevideo *Dia*, was wounded on Sept. 5 in the first duel fought under the new dueling law of Uruguay. His opponent was the Minister of Public Works, Humberto Pittamiglia. The men fought with sabres, and Sosa was slightly wounded in the arm.

### WEST INDIES

**CUBA** — Conservative and Popular parties have formed a coalition in Cuba for the Presidential campaign, and at the convention of the first named, held in Havana at the end of August, the nomination of General Rafael Montalvo, made on May 23, was withdrawn, and Dr. Alfredo Zayas was named in his stead. This, according to a statement issued by President Menocal on Sept. 4, eliminates the probability of violence in connection with the coming election. Fears of this, he said, were due to the efforts of the Miguelista Liberals to base their campaign on recriminations of the past, especially the revolution of February, 1917. A warning was issued by the American Legation at Havana on Aug. 30 that the United States was opposed to violence and fraud and was interested in only the freest and fairest expression of the will of the Cuban people.

An example of interest to all strikers

who expect to make the public pay increased wages, and to public utilities clamoring for higher fares, was furnished by Frank Steinhart, General Manager of the Havana Electric Company, when he refused the men's demands and they struck on Aug. 7. He said:

We cannot pay more unless fares are raised. However, I am opposed to an increased fare. I do not favor charging all the public one or two cents a ride more to be turned over to a relatively few men. We must all strive to bring the cost of living down, and I am willing to bear the brunt of making a start.

New men were chosen and deportation proceedings were begun against fourteen Spanish employes concerned in riots. The unions asked Steinhart to intercede for them, and on his request deportation proceedings were halted. The next day former employes began to apply for their old jobs, and the strike was broken.

**HAITI**—Orders were issued at Washington, on Sept. 8, recalling to active duty Rear Admiral Harry S. Knapp, retired, formerly Commander in Chief of American naval forces in European waters, to serve as senior United States Navy representative in Haiti. Criticism of the American administration in Haiti and of the practical abolition of the island republic's independence is supposed to have caused the appointment.

**SANTO DOMINGO**—Criticisms similar to those concerning Haiti have been heard regarding Santo Domingo, but American occupation has unquestionably been advantageous for both countries. A report of Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden, Military Governor of Santo Domingo, made public on Aug. 15, showed that under American administration the internal revenues of the republic have increased from \$700,000 annually to \$3,492,000. Taxes unfair to the poor were eliminated, and a tax on property introduced. Payments of bonded indebtedness have been regularly made. In 1917 there were 12,000 children in the schools, now there are 110,000. Railways and roads have been brought up to date. Graft, dishonesty and inefficiency have been eliminated in preparation for a peaceable transfer of authority to the people.



# CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

With the Best Cartoons of the Month From Many Nations

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1920]

## NEW AMERICAN SHIPPING LAW

**T**HE maritime nations of Europe, as well as Japan and the Philippine Islands, have devoted much adverse comment to the Jones Shipping act since its passage by the United States Congress in May, 1920. One section of the new law provides for the gradual transfer of the Government's wartime merchant marine to private ownership. But the feature which has aroused opposition abroad is the complete change of policy revealed in the new regulations devised to encourage shipping by the State through new conditions of registry and, above all, through preferential treatment of American vessels in American ports. Japanese shipping firms are threatening to divert their Pacific steamers from Western American to Canadian ports, and several European nations have indicated displeasure over the law.

The Filipinos have from the start been outspoken in their objections to the section of the act which refers specifically to the Philippine Islands. These sections are given below:

Section 21—That from and after Feb. 1, 1922, the coastwise laws of the United States shall extend to the island territories and possessions of the United States not now covered by treaty, and the board is directed prior to the expiration of such year to have established adequate steamship service at reasonable rates to accommodate the commerce and the passenger travel of said islands and to maintain and operate such service until it can be taken over and operated and maintained upon satisfactory terms by private capital and enterprise, provided that if adequate shipping service is not extended by Feb. 1, 1922, the President shall extend the period herein allowed for the establishment of such service in the case of any island territory or possession for such time as may be necessary for the establishment of adequate shipping facilities.

Therefore, provided further, that until Congress shall have authorized the registry as vessels of the United States of vessels owned in the Philippine Islands,

the Government of the Philippine Islands is hereby authorized to adopt from time to time and enforce regulations governing the transportation of merchandise and passengers between ports or places in the Philippine archipelago.

And, provided further, that the foregoing provisions of this section shall not take effect with reference to the Philippine Islands until the President of the United States, after a full investigation of the local needs and conditions, shall,

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## The Menacing Shadow



—Tacoma News-Tribune

by proclamation, declare that an adequate shipping service has been established as herein provided and fix a date for the going into effect of the same.

To this whole section the Governor General of the Islands, the Philippine Legislature, the Council of State, the Chamber of Commerce, many local American business men and the whole foreign business community have expressed their opposition. Signed expressions of these objections were given by The Philippine Review in its June issue. The position taken by the Gov-

ernor General is that the proposed extension of the law "would confine all "carriage of freight between the Philippine Islands and the United States to "American bottoms," and that "the "elimination of competition would inevitably result in the "very considerable increase "of freight rates, thus decreasing the value of "Philippine raw material "now exported to America, "and also putting American manufactured goods "at a disadvantage in the "Philippine market."

The necessity of keeping Manila a free port was variously expressed by all the authorities above mentioned, and the provisions referred to were pronounced to be "unjust and injurious" to the interests of the Philippine Islands. The editorial attitude of *The Philippine Review* was that the act would make the Philippine Government only the agent of the United States; that it would place Filipino goods at the mercy of American shipowners, and eventually mean "the strangling to death" of Filipino commerce with the United States. A formal protest was issued by the Philippine Press Bureau in Washington on Aug. 24.

In the United States it has been pointed out that the new law involves a departure from the maritime policy pursued by this country for almost a century, and that putting it into effect would involve changes in commercial treaties now existing with at least twenty countries. In a letter to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States published on Aug. 30 Secretary Payne of the Department of the Interior issued a warning that if the section referring to the nullification of those parts of commercial treaties which

would obstruct the new law were carried out, the United States might find itself without trade rights in other countries, with the result that the business of the country would be greatly embarrassed. In view of the virtual impos-

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

### The World "Awhirl"



—San Francisco Chronicle

sibility of making these changes within the ninety days allowed, the State Department, according to semi-official advices, will delay action on the new law pending the assembly of the next Congress and the creation of the new Administration in 1921.

\* \* \*

AGUINALDO ON PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE  
**G**ENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO, the Filipino patriot, who once fought Americans as enemies and was captured by General Funston, is living

quietly at his country home in the village of Kawit, midway between Manila and Cavite. An interviewer who visited him recently found him "soothed in spirit and prospering in worldly goods." The mise en scène was typical of the Philip-

[ENGLISH CARTOON]

### Higher and Higher



—The Passing Show, London

THE SHOWMAN (below): "If you don't make that silly ass sit down, John, he'll have you looping the loop next!"

piners—a large, rambling frame house; chickens and pigs; barefoot children playing in the rear; across the road nipa-thatched huts standing on poles like stilts above the ground; mothers gossiping and smoking cigarettes as they leaned out of the windows. The correspondent, Junius B. Wood, described Aguinaldo as "a slim man of medium height, grave and pleasant face, with a jet black pompadour, and dressed entirely in white." Speaking in his native Tagalog through an interpreter, Aguinaldo said in part:

I have kept the oath I made to the United States not to talk politics, but now that the Americans are asking the views of the Filipinos I will reply: Our people are happy, contented and more prosperous than they ever dreamed of becoming as the result of the American rule. The

schools have taught them to think, and industries and commerce have shown them the rewards of work. Now we want the independence which was promised to us. The territorial form of government which the Americans in the islands, led by Senator George S. Fairchild, are advocating, does not satisfy the Filipinos, much as we appreciate the honor of becoming American citizens.

Senator Fairchild has done much to help the prosperity of the islands and is a man whose opinions we respect. However, he has apparently forgotten that the American Congress decided that it would be impossible for the Philippines to become an American Territory.

The Filipinos are able to govern themselves, and the country will be able to survive as an independent nation, though it is small compared to other nations. The recent war changed the world's ideas, and now it is considered right that the greater civilized nations should protect and encourage the smaller, newer and weaker countries.

When reminded that the aftermath of the war had brought infringements of this ideal, Aguinaldo replied, "I have faith in the world's progress." The

Congressional party that recently returned from inspecting the situation in the islands, however, came back with an adverse impression. One of its members, Charles H. Randall of California, said to a correspondent at Honolulu: "After seeing conditions in the Philippines it is the almost unanimous verdict of the twenty members of the inspection party that the Philippines are 'not ready for independence, and will 'not be for the next quarter of a century. It would be a crime of the first

## ST. PETER'S NEW PROBLEM



—From *Il 420*, Florence

"It will be necessary to invent a new hell"

"Why?"

"Because, as soon as the latest arrivals from earth get inside they begin to look cheerful, saying that things are much worse where they came from"

"magnitude, both against the Filipinos  
"and against the interests of the United  
"States, to cast these people adrift."

\* \* \*

## FOURTEEN WARS STILL AWAITING PEACE

THE signing of the allied treaties of peace with the Central Powers has by no means brought peace to the whole world. A pessimistic student of world affairs recently published a list of seventeen wars still in sight. Eliminating a few minor attempts at revolution in Latin America, which can hardly be called wars, the list is still sufficiently imposing:

1. United States vs. Germany (technical state of war).
2. United States vs. Austria-Hungary (technical state of war).
3. Civil war in Ireland.
4. Great Britain vs. Turkish Nationalists and Arabs in Mesopotamia.
5. France vs. Turkish Nationalists and Arabs in Syria.
6. Poland vs. Soviet Russia.
7. Baron Wrangel vs. Soviet Russia.
8. Greece vs. Turkish Nationalists.
9. Revolutionary movement in Egypt.
10. Turkey vs. Armenia.

11. Soviet Russia vs. Persia.
12. Soviet Russia vs. Japan.
13. Korean revolt against Japanese rule.
14. Civil war in China.

The list might be extended by other less acute conflicts. D'Annunzio's continued defiance of the Italian Government is more or less belligerent, especially when it comes to capturing food ships from the "enemy." The clash between Italy and Albania has been composed, but both the Serbs and Greeks clashed with the Albanians in August over boundary lines which are still unsettled, and which the Allies cannot settle until the whole Adriatic problem is solved. Hungary and Rumania are still at daggers' points. The Bolsheviki are still attacking Georgia, though a formal treaty of peace has been concluded. Poland and Lithuania are on the verge of warfare, but the latter has referred the case to the League of Nations. General Semenov is waging virtually a separate war on the Bolsheviki in Siberia—with Japanese aid. Spain is still trying to conquer the Moors in Morocco. From



[ENGLISH CARTOON]

## MARS TRIUMPHANT



—The Passing Show, London

[Aug. 4, 1914—Aug. 4, 1920]

ANGEL OF PEACE (to God of War): "Six years hast thou reigned, O Mars. Art thou not yet satisfied?"

east to west, unrest and national distrust abound, and many volcanoes are merely smouldering. All the real fighting, however, is in small areas and gives room to hope for ultimate settlement without any new conflict between great powers.

\* \* \*

## SYMBOLIC MONUMENT AT VERDUN

THE Monument of Defense erected at Verdun by public subscription in Holland to commemorate the heroic French soldiers who fell in the war, was inaugurated on Aug. 2. M. Honnorat, Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, delivered an address, in which he conveyed the gratitude of the French nation for this splendid gift. He said in part:

Gentlemen, to you, the representatives of the Netherlands, the Government of the French Republic has charged me to express its gratitude. \* \* \* How could we ever forget the 10,000 subscribers to this movement, and all those who associated themselves with this undertaking? Through the most trying crisis the world

has ever known, and despite the menacing pressure of a formidable neighbor, they have been rigidly impartial and ardent in well-doing. France will always remember it.

\* \* \*

## ADVENTURES OF RUSSIA'S GOLD RESERVE

THE strange story of what became of the vast gold reserve of the Czar's Government was told in a London financial paper by Mr. W. J. Novitsky, former Assistant Minister of Finance in the All-Russian Government. In 1914 Russia had the greatest accumulation of gold in the world—more than \$800,000,000. When the war broke out, says Mr. Novitsky, it became necessary to ship gold abroad for war supplies and other things. The first shipment to England, \$40,000,000, was made in October, 1914, and every precaution was taken to keep it secret. The cruiser Drake and transport Mantois were kept thirty miles off Archangel, and the gold was put on board at night; nevertheless, the Germans learned of the shipment, sowed

mines in the way of the ships, and damaged both, though ultimately the gold reached Liverpool.

The next shipments were sent by rail to Vladivostok, and Japanese cruisers carried the gold to Vancouver, B. C. By this route England got two shipments of \$200,000,000 and \$100,000,000, respectively, some of the gold going by way of Japan. These transactions accounted for \$340,000,000 of the original hoard. In October, 1917, about \$2,500,000 was shipped to Stockholm, and is still kept in the Swedish Riksbank.

Of the \$600,000,000 that remained in Russia at the time of the Bolshevik upheaval, half was stored in Samara, and then in Kazan, and the rest in Moscow and Petrograd. Under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the Soviet Government was forced to ship to Berlin 320,000,000 rubles (about \$160,000,000), and a little later Germany received another 320,000,000 rubles as a credit fund. The Brest-Litovsk gold, which represented the first one-third of what Germany was to get under that treaty, was handed over by Germany to the Allies in the Autumn of 1918, in accordance with the armistice conditions, and is now stored in the Bank of France.

When in July, 1918, the Bolsheviks were forced to evacuate Kazan, they had no time to remove the remaining gold—still nearly \$300,000,000—and it was captured from them. In August this gold was transported to Samara, and was stored there by the All-Russian Government until the Assembly left for Ufa. After several adventures this gold reached Omsk. In May, 1919, sales of gold began to cover purchases of military supplies, and gold was shipped to Hongkong in connection with a credit

[ENGLISH CARTOON]

### The Irish Problem



—The Passing Show, London.

JOHN BULL: "For heaven's sake, give that infant what he wants"

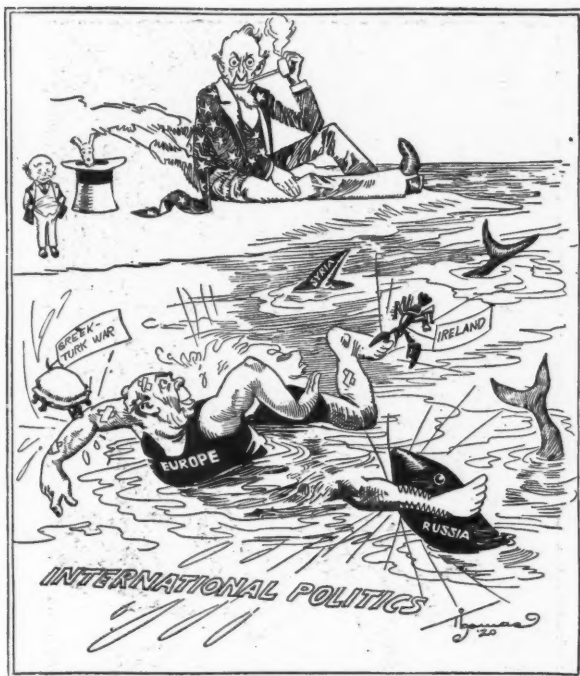
NURSE DAVID: "I would if I only knew what it was!"

opened by an Anglo-American syndicate. Altogether there was shipped from Omsk 13,234 poods, of which 11,234 poods reached Vladivostok safely. Out of the original deposit of gold in Omsk, on the day of evacuation there remained some \$220,000,000.

Admiral Kolchak loaded this gold into forty cars, forming a special train, which, accompanied by an armored train, left Omsk on Nov. 12 and in the night following. Omsk was occupied by the Reds on Nov. 15. At Tatarskaia one train collided and caught fire, and cases and boxes containing gold were lost. After the arrival at Novonikolaievsk, in consequence of difficulties in obtaining locomotives from the Czechs, there was delay in reaching Nijneudinsk, where Admiral Kolchak was forced to leave the

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## A Cordial Invitation



—Detroit News

EUROPE: "Come on in, the water's fine!"

gold. The fate of the train is uncertain, but the Admiral was handed over to the Social Revolutionaries and met his death.

In order to replenish their gold stocks the Bolsheviks have endeavored, with qualified success, to obtain possession of the gold previously in circulation, estimated at \$250,000,000, but the bulk has been secreted by the people. The production of gold in Siberia, which was about \$45,000,000 in 1914, declined to \$22,500,000 in 1916, and, according to information furnished to the Minister of Finance in Omsk, the quantity for 1917 was \$17,500,000, and in 1918 and 1919 about \$12,500,000 each year.

\* \* \*

## PROHIBITION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

THERE are no prohibition "agitators" in Soviet Russia, in the usual sense, but the country is "bone dry" and is likely to stay so, according to Ture Nerman, a Swedish prohibition advocate

and Extreme Socialist, who recently returned to Stockholm from a visit to Petrograd and Moscow.

Interviewed by Templaren, the leading Scandinavian prohibition newspaper, Mr. Nerman voiced great enthusiasm over the way in which the Bolsheviks had taken up the responsibility for carrying out the Czar's war prohibition edict and had made it really effective. Although the Soviet leaders, including Lenin, were not teetotalers or particularly interested in prohibition, they soon saw, said Mr. Nerman, that they must drastically enforce the ban on vodka and other intoxicating drinks in order to curb the passions aroused by the revolution and to maintain the morale of the Soviet troops. Consequently, the iron hand was freely used at the beginning, violators of the law being frequently shot down summarily by Bolshevik patrols, the argument being that

traffickers in forbidden liquors and drunkards were of no use to the revolution, anyway.

Mr. Nerman pointed out that, although the "bone dry" edict had been supposedly in force long before the first revolution in March, 1917, there were huge stocks of liquors in the country, and vodka played a big rôle during the Kerensky régime. But the Bolsheviks used different methods, which Mr. Nerman illustrated by the following incident:

A Bolshevik patrol encountered a tremendous store of valuable old wines in the cellars of the Winter Palace. Some of the Red leaders made efforts to intoxicate themselves with this wine, but were prevented. Then a conduit was prepared leading from the cellars down to the Neva, and the entire stock was shot to pieces with machine guns. The spirits and wines ran into the river in great streams.

The Swedish prohibition enthusiast



then passed a few derogatory comments on the ineffectiveness of the Swedish near-prohibition laws and remarked that, in case of a possible Swedish revolution, it would be fun to turn loose a few big guns on a certain cellar under the Stockholm castle. He also said that, whereas in Russia he had seen only two or three slightly intoxicated persons in five weeks, he had encountered more than a dozen "drunks" in the streets of Stockholm within one hour after his return.

When the Bolshevik leaders became convinced of the good effects of prohibition they began a campaign of education against liquor. The children in the schools are taught the injurious effects of alcohol, and the ubiquitous poster is being used to instruct adults. One such poster shows a peasant, filled with vodka, wallowing on the ground like a pig, while sober workers and peasants are pictured studying, reading, or circulating Bolshevik literature. The famous Red propaganda trains, which tour the country spreading Bolshevik doctrines, also help in the prohibition campaign.

Mr. Nerman admitted that there was a certain amount of liquor being smuggled into Russia, but the proportion was insignificant when compared to the quantities of vodka consumed in the pre-war days. He opined that the raising of the blockade might make it harder for the Bolsheviks to keep the country "bone dry," but he thought they would be able to overcome this danger. He said he was firmly of the opinion that the so-called absolute prohibition enacted in Finland, Norway and the United States could be nothing but a half-way measure as long as the capitalist system of society endures. The ruth-

[ENGLISH CARTOON]

### When Poland Was in Peril



—The Star, London

IT: "Desist! Let us have peace!"

RUSSIA: "Why? Because he didn't kill me with the gun you gave him?"

less and never seriously controlled lust for personal profit, he believed, would never respect the motive of human betterment involved in permanent prohibition. He thought that the traffic in liquor could be entirely abolished only under a Socialistic system of society.

\* \* \*

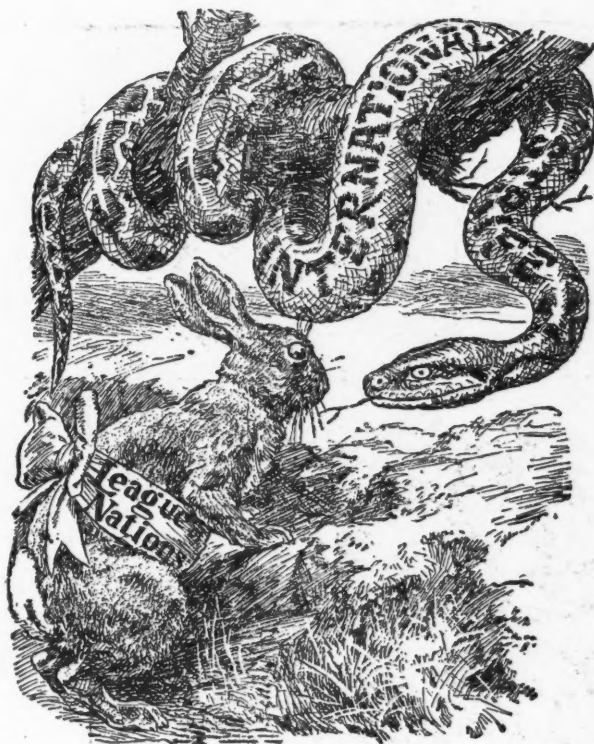
#### A PARLIAMENT 300 YEARS OLD

THE Legislature of Bermuda, the oldest Parliament in the world next to that of England, celebrated its 300th anniversary on Aug. 1, when an impressive ceremony, attended by the Governor and the members of the Executive



[ENGLISH CARTOON]

## Moral Suasion



—Punch, London

THE RABBIT: "My offensive equipment being practically nil, it remains for me to fascinate him with the power of my eye"

and Legislative Councils and the House of Assembly, took place at St. George's, the ancient capital. Telegrams expressing loyal devotion to the Crown were sent to the British King and Parliament. The reading of extracts from an address delivered by Governor Butler on Aug. 1, 1920, recalled the introduction of representative government 300 years ago. The Bermuda Islands were discovered in 1515 by a Spanish mariner, Juan Bermudez. In 1609 Admiral Sir George Somers, in his ship the *Sea Venture*, was wrecked there on his way to Virginia. He ultimately reached his plantations, but returned to the Bermudas, then known as the Somers Islands, to die. The Virginia Company of London, impressed by the glowing accounts of

the fertility of these islands, had its charter extended to include them, but sold the islands the same year for £2,000 to some of its members, who in 1615 secured incorporation as a Government. Since 1684 the Crown has always appointed the Governors of the colony. Under Governor Willcocks the Bermudian Legislature voted the sum of £51,750 in aid of the Imperial War Fund.

\* \* \*

## TAGORE ON EAST AND WEST

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, who may justly be called the most famous citizen of India, when interviewed by a representative of The London Graphic (July 31), declared that the civilization of the West is crassly material; that it threatens to infect the hitherto more spiritual East with a like materialism, and that unless the old spirit of creative idealism is regained, both East and West may end by losing their souls. In this connection he voiced India's demand for independent national life.

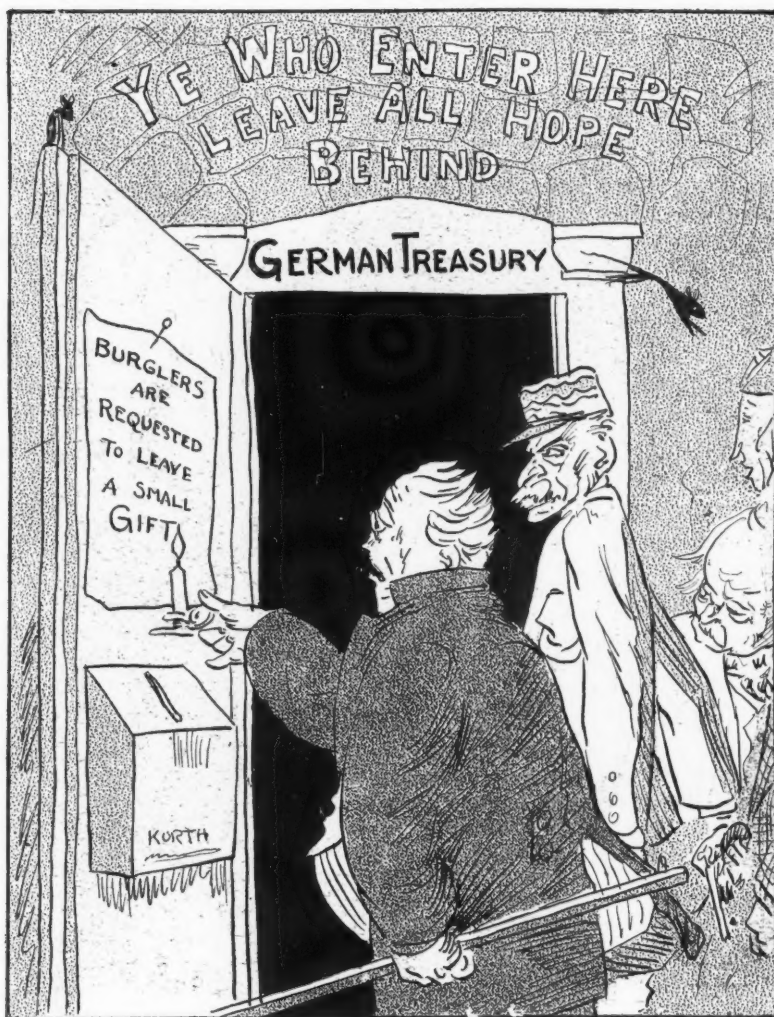
tional life.

In the Middle Ages, Dr. Tagore pointed out, the East brought to the West its spiritual message, West and East communed, and there was an exchange of the finer elements which each possessed. But science and industrialism, the pursuit of applied knowledge and the mad rush for wealth eventually brought about in the West a cruelty of power, a ruthless commercialism, a harsh materialism, a skepticism toward faith and ideals, in which Dr. Tagore sees a moral and mortal degeneracy. The effects, said the poet, are not visible to the West, but the East can see it.

When you come in contact with alien peoples, with other races holding other ideas, your want of love of humanity becomes apparent. Asia has suffered thus,

[GERMAN CARTOON]

## OPENING THE GERMAN SAFE



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

[German cartoonists tried to get what fun they could out of the fact that the Allies at Spa had to give Germany a loan, in order to make it possible for Germany to pay large indemnities later. In this picture Millerand, Foch, Lloyd George & Co. exclaim "Diable!" when they find inside the safe a sign that says: "Burglars are requested to leave a small gift in the treasurer's box"]

Africa is suffering. Japan and China, for their self-preservation, have adopted the methods of the West, the machine for the spirit. \* \* \* The thing is spreading in India, it is affecting our community and the beauty and poetry of life are threatened.

Dr. Tagore then spoke of the political

situation in India, and referred to the Amritsar affair, recently in the public eye because of the Hunter Commission's report, and the dispute over the dismissal of General Dyer, who was responsible for the Amritsar "massacre." Dr. Tagore said:

[GERMAN CARTOON]

## OUR DEAR DEPARTED



—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin

Let us not forget our faithful dead!

There has never been anything like it in India, and it could not have happened but for the carelessness of heart, not callousness of heart, which has resulted from the great war in Europe. It makes me ashamed that my own people should suffer such a degradation. It makes me ashamed of any form of government under which it could occur.

The English people at home, said Dr. Tagore, mostly felt that they held India

by the sword, and naturally this created antagonism in the youth of India:

What we need is union in spirit and understanding, sympathy, the human touch, not the machine. The Government of India is a terribly efficient machine. It is like a train so terribly on time that half the passengers are left behind. "Is not your life and property safe?" we are asked. That is a negative benefit; we want national life, our own life and free-

dom, and unless we get these we cannot give out what is best in us.

\* \* \*

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR CEYLON

A LARGE measure of popular control over the administration of the Island of Ceylon, south of India, is about to be granted by Great Britain, following the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to recommend changes in the Ceylon Constitution. According to the announcement in Parliament, made on July 29, it is proposed to alter the Constitution of the Legislative Council in two directions. In the first place there will be a considerable extension of the principle of popular election in the selection of members; secondly, the unofficial members will be given a substantial majority over the official vote. As heretofore, only one member will be appointed to represent the Mohammedan community, whose wide distribution makes any system of election for this element impracticable, though such a system may ultimately be found. Other interests may be provided for by the Governor at his discretion.

\* \* \*

#### DEATH OF EX-SECRETARY WILSON

JAMES WILSON, former Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, died at his home in Traer, Iowa, on Aug. 26. He was 85 years old. Mr. Wilson was head of the Department of Agriculture for fifteen years, beginning March 4, 1897. He held the portfolio under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft, though his service in this department did not begin until he was 62 years of age. In 1872 he had been sent to Congress, where he served three terms.

As head of the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Wilson was responsible for its reorganization and for valuable contributions to the country's agricultural development. He taught the American farmer that farming was a science. His researches extended throughout the entire world. Many valuable crops were introduced by him from abroad, such as durum wheat, which eventually yielded nearly \$50,000,000 a year to the farmers of the Northwest; Swedish oats, Egyptian cotton, Japanese rice, Cuban and

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

#### The New Drink Demon



—Brooklyn Eagle

[A comment on the attitude of the police toward the illicit liquor traffic in large cities]

[GERMAN CARTOON]

#### The Duel Between Monarchy and Republic



—Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart



[GERMAN CARTOON]

## A New Victory



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

[Kladderadatsch, exhibiting plebiscite returns that show 99 per cent. German votes in East Prussia and 92 per cent. in West Prussia, is represented as saying: "Now, Mr. Wilson, as you are the patron of self-determination, why not try a plebiscite of the Poles in New York?"]

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## The Great Unrest



—© New York Tribune

Sumatran tobacco, Saharan dates. He extended the climatic limits of wheat growing. He fostered the beet sugar industry, and aroused the whole country on the subject of tuberculosis in cattle. The care and handling of milk were by him systematized and improved. Under his administration a serum for hog cholera was discovered. He encouraged road building, and made remarkable advances in the conservation of the national forests. He virtually made the Department of Agriculture—which had grown slowly from obscure and even despised beginnings—a national farming university. At his death the press throughout the country paid a tribute to him as a great Secretary of Agriculture, one who had increased the power, the energy and the happiness of the nation.

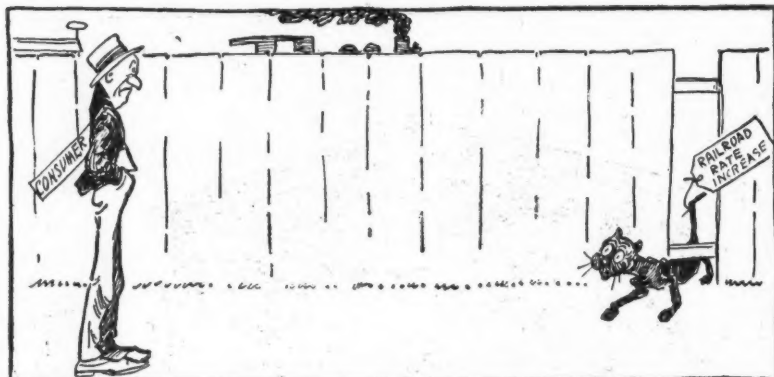
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## DEATH OF SIR NORMAN LOCKYER

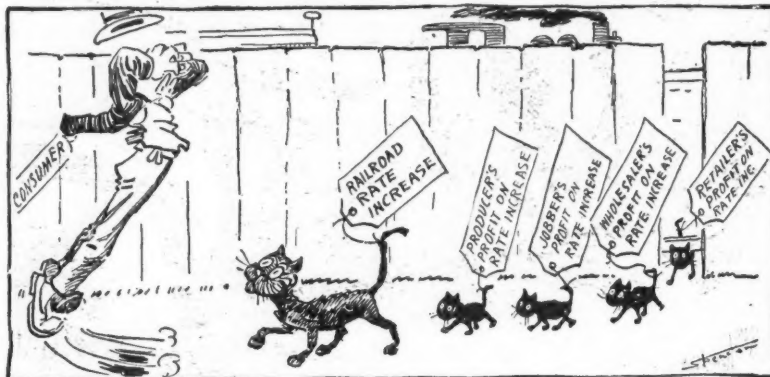
THE death of Sir Norman Lockyer, the famous English astronomer, at Sidmouth on Aug. 17, closed a long and brilliant scientific career. Sir Norman was born at Rugby on May 17, 1836. His father was a lecturer on scientific subjects at Rugby, and also one of the early workers on the electric telegraph. The son was educated at various private schools on the Continent, and received an appointment at the War Office in 1857. Clerical reforms instituted by him saved the country a considerable annual expense, and his work was so much appreciated that in 1865 he was made editor of the Army Regulations. Meanwhile he pursued, as a pastime, scientific experiments. In 1868 he won worldwide celebrity as an astronomer by his discovery that the sun's chromosphere could be seen in broad daylight. The same discovery, made independently by the scientist Janssen, confirmed Lockyer's observations. The French Academy, before whom memorandums from both Lockyer and Janssen were read on the same day, struck a medal in honor of both. They both lived many years to work on the lines thus opened. Janssen died in 1907, nearly 84 years of age, and Lockyer lived to complete his eighty-fourth year.

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## WE DON'T CARE FOR CATS, BUT—



We can stand for this one—if—



—Omaha World-Herald

she doesn't bring a family with her!

In the same year Lockyer in collaboration with Frankland made a new discovery. Observations of the sun taken jointly with Frankland revealed a yellow line not previously observed which further research showed to be the hitherto undiscovered element helium used during the great war of 1914 as a non-inflammable gas substitute for hydrogen in airships. It was shortly after these discoveries that the Government established the solar physical laboratory at South Kensington with which Lockyer was connected for over forty years and whose director he was from 1885 to 1913. In 1870 Lockyer was made Secretary of the Duke of Devonshire's Commission on Science. He was subsequently transferred to the Science and Art Depart-

ment and in the same year (1875) he received the Janssen medal from the Paris Academy of Sciences and was elected a corresponding member.

An indefatigable student, Lockyer wrote many books, delivered many lectures. Some 200 of his papers in the domain of solar and stellar physics were published by the Royal Society. Two of his most important works were "The Chemistry of the Sun" (1887) and "The Meteoritic Hypothesis" (1890). The latter was an attempt to prove that all heavenly bodies, from nebulae and stars to comets, were aggregations of meteors under different conditions. This theory has not yet been accepted, but has proved stimulating to scientific investigators. Other works were: "Studies

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## ONCE AGAIN THE PUBLIC PAYS



—Tacoma News-Tribune

in Spectrum Analysis," "The Spectroscope and its Applications," "Movements of the Earth," "The Sun's Place in Nature" and "Inorganic Evolution." A most interesting hypothesis was published in his work, "Stonehenge and Other British Stone Monuments Astronomically Considered," in which he showed, by scientific calculations, that the Stonehenge monolithic temple must have been built in 1680 B. C.

As President of the British Association Sir Norman Lockyer did much for the cause of English education, and obtained about £12,000,000 from the Government to further this cause. Between 1890 and 1905 he was chief of eight expeditions to distant quarters of the globe

to study the outlying portions of the sun. As editor of the weekly journal, *Nature*, which Lockyer started in 1869, he did much to advance and disseminate scientific knowledge. The first words in the new magazine were penned by Huxley, and it was Huxley who introduced the fifty-first volume. In 1919 Sir Norman contributed to the special number which celebrated *Nature's* fiftieth year of life. He was married twice, and left four sons and two daughters.

\* \* \*

## DEATH OF ANDERS ZORN

ANDERS LEONARD ZORN, the Swedish painter, died at Stockholm on Aug. 22. Famous in his own country as a portrait painter, etcher and sculptor,

[DUTCH CARTOON]

## COMFORTING THE PATIENT AT SPA



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

DENTIST LLOYD GEORGE: "So, Mrs. Germania, the preliminary work is done. The worst we will accomplish in the next operation"

he painted or etched the portraits of the King of Sweden and members of the Swedish and other royal families, and also of two Presidents of the United States. Zorn was born in Mora, Province of Dalarna, Sweden, on Feb. 18, 1860, and attended the Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm. He traveled in Spain, Italy and England, and while in London learned the art of etching from the Swedish artist, Axel Haig. He painted his first pictures in oil in England in 1888, and sold his "Fisherman from St. Ives" to the Luxembourg Museum in Paris. A self-portrait done at Florence in 1889 found a place for itself at the Uffizi Gallery. Zorn came to the United States in 1893 and exhibited at the World's Fair in Chicago. His room full of paintings aroused great admiration, and he then began a series of portraits which eventually led him to the White House, where he painted the portrait of President Cleveland and later made an etching of President Taft. His etched por-

traits were as popular as his paintings, and the etching of President Taft figured in several exhibitions. Other pictures made by him in the United States included those of Saint-Gaudens and many others. As a sculptor his most important work is the statue of Gustavus Vasa in Mora, his home in Sweden. Some of Zorn's work now hangs on the walls of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Chicago Art Institute. Zorn contributed \$25,000 to the fund which started the Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen, the new Stockholm organization allied with the American-Scandinavian Foundation of New York, to enable Swedish scientists to pursue their studies in the United States.

As an artist Zorn is famed pre-eminently for his vitality. Though a cosmopolitan by experience, he passed the most of his sixty years of life in distilling the essence of a remote Swedish province for a public that will know it mainly through him. In all his pictures, some of



[ENGLISH OPPOSITION CARTOON]

## THE SORT OF BIRD THAT DOESN'T FIND LAND



—The Star, London

the peasant girls of his native home bathing in the sea, he communicated a sense of vigorous well-being and mental and physical efficiency. He is rated as a masterly technician in oil painting, but is considered greater as an etcher. His great etching of the famous French philosopher, Renan, has been defined as the work of a strong brain, a deep reading of a profound character. He used pure etching, with rigid economy of means. He was said to be a master in securing effects of light and shade.

\* \* \*

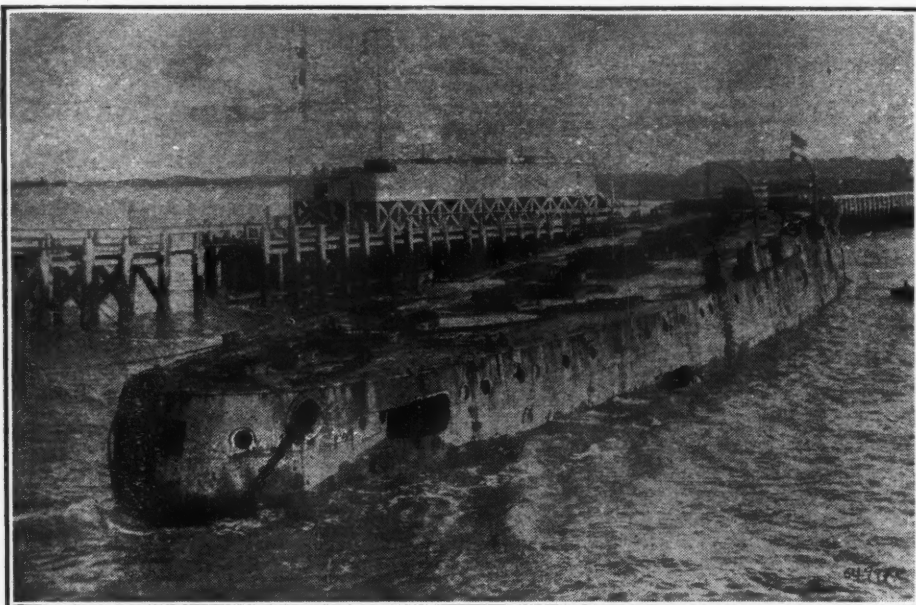
## RAISING A HISTORIC WRECK

THE raising of the *Vindictive*, the British cruiser sunk in the harbor of Ostend in May, 1918, in order to close the harbor to the Germans, was completed on Aug. 1, 1920, and the gallant ship, which had lain at the bottom of the port for two years, was towed to a position where it would no longer cause difficulty to navigation.

The *Vindictive* was engaged in two historic naval raids against the German submarine bases at Ostend and Zee-

brugge. One was undertaken on April 22, 1918, under Vice Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, and the German batteries on the Mole at Zeebrugge were successfully put out of action—under German fire in the full glare of searchlights—while five obsolete cruisers were sunk in the channel, practically blocking it. The second raid, in May of the same year, completed the work by blocking the harbor of Ostend, the battered *Vindictive* being one of the vessels deliberately sunk there for that purpose. Both exploits inflicted serious damage on the German submarine operations. The “disciplined daring and singular contempt of death” displayed on both occasions were afterward the subject of a general order from the British Admiralty giving high praise both to the men who died there and to those who lived through the fight.

The raising of the old cruiser was a thrilling experience to all who shared in it. When lifted by a whole flotilla of salvage craft, including two large American salvage steamers, it was found that her funnels and upper works were gone.



BRITISH BATTLESHIP VINDICTIVE, STRIPPED OF EVERYTHING MOVABLE, AS SHE NOW APPEARS AT THE OSTEND HARBOR ENTRANCE AFTER TWO YEARS UNDER WATER

(© Central News Service)

Large boilers and air compressors took their place. The engines and pumps got to work. Whistles and flag signals set all the engines going full power. The decks of the raised cruiser vibrated, and she went slowly astern. She was then towed up the harbor, buoyed by huge caissons filled with compressed air. Sirens and steam whistles saluted her as she reached her position in the Leopold Lock, where she lay with a list to starboard of about 5 degrees; thousands of spectators on the sea front and on the sands cheered her advent. It is understood that the Vindictive will be presented to the Belgian Government as a memorial gift. Another block ship, the Iphigenia, was raised a few days earlier. The concrete conning tower which the Germans had built to protect themselves from the British aviators while attempting to raise her was still intact.

\* \* \*

#### MEMORIAL STATUE OF KING EDWARD

THE equestrian statue of King Edward, which was sculptured by Sir Bertram Mackennal, was inspected by

King George and the Queen on Aug. 14. Mr. Mackennal's work was approved and accepted. The statue, which is to be cast in bronze and to take the place of that erected to the memory of Lord Napier of Magdala at the end of Waterloo Place, which will be removed to Trafalgar Square, is of heroic, not colossal, proportions, one and a half times life size. The height of the statue is fourteen feet; the pedestal is to be between fourteen and fifteen feet, giving a total elevation of about twenty-nine feet above the ground. King Edward is shown sitting upon his horse, wearing the full dress uniform of a Field Marshal, with the broad riband and jewel of the Garter and many other decorations.

\* \* \*

#### THE BOY SCOUTS' "JAMBOREE"

THE great international "jamboree" of 100,000 Boy Scouts from all nations took place in the Stadium at Olympia, near London, on Aug. 2. This was an event toward which the eyes of the boyhood of the whole world had been eagerly turned for months. It was the

culmination of the whole Boy Scout movement, and outdid all precedents. Three years after the start of the movement, in 1907, only 11,000 boys attended the first rally at the Crystal Palace. In 1912 30,000 Scouts took part in the King's review in Windsor Great Park. A subsequent rally at Birmingham brought a larger number, but all fell far short of this tremendous international gathering of the boys of all nations at Olympia.

Twenty-six nations were represented. The throng of spectators went far beyond 15,000—approximately 10,000 people were unable to purchase tickets and had to be turned away. The enormous stadium was crowded to its utmost capacity. The varied hues of the innumerable Scouts, all bristling with knives and whistles, tassels and ribbons, made a riot of moving color. As they marched by with the brilliantly pigmented balloons which each carried they made a kaleidoscopic and picturesque spectacle. The day's performance was divided into two parts. The morning exercises were opened by addresses delivered by the Archbishop of York, General Baden-Powell, Chief Scout, and Lord Robert Cecil. The formal "jamboree" occurred in the afternoon.

Both the morning and afternoon were taken up with exhibiting various aspects of Scout activity. Wigwams were shown by the Danish Scouts with furs and a totem pole. English working Scouts were active amid flying wheels and belts, and coal mining Scouts from Northumberland ran a miniature mine. Boys dressed as wolf cubs played organized games. The diversions and side shows were too many to be grasped by the eye at once. Pageants, plays and pastimes, displays of campercraft and woodcraft, a zoo, a picture gallery, exhibits of every kind of Boy Scout work being carried on all over the world, went on continuously, enlivened by boxing, wrestling, tugs of war, fire drills, Highland dancing, a rag-time circus, tumbling, a Punch and Judy show, a Marathon, an obstacle race, and drum and fife corps.

But the main spectacular event of the day was the great procession, which took

place at 2:30 in the afternoon. At the given signal, General Baden-Powell took up his stand with his staff and Lord Robert Cecil by the flagstaff in the centre of one side of the arena, along whose whole vast length ran a green curtain, said to be the largest in the world. There was a moment's pause, then up went the curtain, revealing a ship in a bay of blue water, and a road leading down to it between two rocky walls.

Down this defile marched the Scouts of all the world, carrying their countries' flags. Down they filed, marched around the whole arena, saluted the Chief Scout Master, and passed out on the further side, and still the stream went on unendingly. First came the Americans, 300 strong, with a band of Red Indian warriors in full war paint and feathers. Next came the Belgians, also in khaki, with yellow handkerchiefs around their throats. Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Esthonia followed; France, with the Tricolor; Greece, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway in gray; Rumania, Serbia in dark blue with hats of the Serbian Army; Siam all in brown and yellow, and Spain with red handkerchiefs. Following a camel, a baby elephant, a llama, came Sweden in blue; Switzerland, India, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa in green, some in feathers, shields and spears; Jamaica, Ceylon, Malta, Gibraltar, Malaya, and, at the very end, a body of sea Scouts bearing the Union Jack.

This procession was a stupendous spectacle in a *mise-en-scène* no less stupendous. It was a pageant of youth, staged by a master hand; the dream of a boy come true. And it held a moral. At the morning and evening services the boys heard and took away with them a message. The Archbishop of York at the morning service spoke to the boys thus:

I understand the feelings of the Chief Scout as he surveys this wonderful expansion of the movement which thirteen years ago was hardly thought of. The Scouts might well be proud of their organization. The real object of the Scout movement, however, is to make a new and better world. If the Scout movement lays hold of the nations of the world, I believe its face will be changed. When you go back to your homes, some

of them across the seas, I want you to remember this service, and this, my message to you: You have your life on trust to do your best to be good and peaceful citizens. Do your best.

The Chief Scout, General Baden-Powell, also gave them his message. They were assembled, he said, to do honor to the memory of those brother Scouts who had fallen in the great war. He continued as follows:

I charge you to go forth and lead a new life. Make the world worthy of those who have fallen. I want you to go back resolved to keep that peace which our brother Scouts bought with their lives. Will you do this thing?

In a great volume of sound came back the reply from a hundred thousand youthful throats: "I will do my best." It was with these words, and the few pronounced by Lord Robert Cecil enjoining friendship, co-operation and self-control ringing in their ears that the great army of boys left the Stadium of Olympia at the close of the great international meeting.

The 304 American Boy Scouts later visited France and witnessed the Olympic games in Belgium. They landed safely in New York on Sept. 4 and were entertained there before dispersing to their homes.

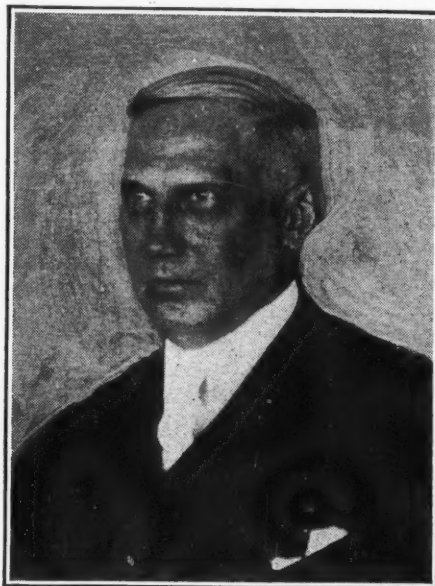
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#### GORDON WOODBURY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

**P**RESIDENT WILSON on Aug. 26 appointed Gordon Woodbury of New Hampshire to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy in place of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who resigned shortly after he was nominated for Vice President by the National Democratic Convention. Mr. Woodbury at once assumed the administration of his new duties.

The new Assistant Secretary is 56 years old. He is a man of affairs of New Hampshire, where he was formerly editor of *The Manchester Union*. A graduate of Harvard University as well as of the Columbia University Law School, he practiced law for some time. He served in 1891 in the New Hamp-

shire Legislature, was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1900, and in that body was a pioneer supporter of woman suffrage. As a Democratic leader in his State, he was a member of the National Democratic Convention at



GORDON WOODBURY  
Assistant Secretary of the Navy, succeeding  
F. D. Roosevelt  
(© Harris & Ewing)

San Francisco. During the war he had served as a Red Cross officer in France.

Mr. Woodbury has long taken a deep interest in the navy and in naval enlargement. His great-uncle, Levi Woodbury, was Secretary of the Navy under President Jackson. His uncle, Gordon Woodbury, a naval officer, was killed on duty during the civil war. His cousin, Gustavus Fox, was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Gideon Welles. Another cousin was executive officer of the *Hartford*, the flagship of Farragut. Mr. Woodbury thus enters on his new duties with naval traditions, and with knowledge of the navy's history and ambitions for its development.



# America's World War Against Disease

## A Brief Account of the Rockefeller Foundation's Wonderful Work for the Well-Being of Mankind

By GEORGE E. VINCENT

[PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION]

*The Rockefeller Foundation, by its gifts of over \$5,500,000 to University College and the University College Hospital Medical School, London, recently won the gratitude of Great Britain. On the assumption that the British Nation as a whole knew little of the worldwide activities of the Rockefeller Foundation, The London Times later published an article by the President of the foundation, setting forth in compact form the object of the institution and the work it has done and is doing. Dr. Vincent's dispassionate statement of actual facts, without eulogy or rhetorical embellishment, contains so much that is little known also to the general public in the United States that it is reproduced herewith in its entirety for CURRENT HISTORY readers.*

THE Rockefeller Foundation, chartered in 1913 by the Legislature of the State of New York, was established by John D. Rockefeller, who gave an initial endowment of \$100,000,000, which has since been increased to a total of \$175,000,000. A self-perpetuating board of fifteen Trustees has power to increase its own numbers. It controls the expenditure of funds and is authorized to disburse principal as well as income in promotion of the purpose of the foundation, "the well-being of mankind throughout the world." The International Health Board, the China Medical Board and the Division of Medical Education are agencies created by the foundation to administer different phases of its work.

The fields in which this institution is rendering its chief service are those of public health and medical education. The methods employed are demonstrations carried on in co-operation with Governments and educational institutions and contributions to carefully prepared programs of development. The aim is not permanently to assume public functions, but either to convince established agencies that certain policies and procedures are both effective and feasible or to aid them to extend and strengthen their work.

The control and prevention of hookworm, malaria and yellow fever; a campaign against tuberculosis in France; the improvement of local and national health administration; the professional training of public health officials; studies of various problems in preventive medicine; aid to medical schools in the United States, Canada, China, Brazil; university fellowships in public health and modern medicine for students from many lands—these are the leading features of the present program of the foundation.

### WARTIME SERVICES

During the period of the war the foundation sent early relief to Belgium; organized tuberculosis dispensaries, training centres and popular educational exhibits in France; supported a war demonstration hospital, instruction courses for medical officers, and the production of sera at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research; contributed to the funds of the National Research Council; co-operated with the medical service of the War Department, and made appropriations to the American Red Cross and to various other societies which aided the armed forces of the United States and the allied nations.



THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK CITY

The aggregate expenditures for war purposes reached a total of £4,500,000.

First in point of time among the diseases to be dealt with by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, hookworm disease still remains its chief concern so far as the area covered, funds expended and personnel employed are concerned. The disease is widely prevalent in tropical and semi-tropical regions.

The typical methods employed include a preliminary survey to determine the degree of infection, the organization of dispensary units for treating the population, the carrying on of educational campaigns and the introduction of sanitary procedures which will prevent the pollution of the soil and the reinfection of the people. Hookworm control is undertaken only in co-operation with Governments and on the understanding that if demonstrations prove successful the constituted authorities will gradually take over the support and administration of the enterprise. Although hookworm control is in itself an important end, the foundation has from the outset regarded these campaigns chiefly as a means of educating communities in the possibilities of public health. In many places, notably in Brazil, Australia and some of the Southern States of the United States, hookworm control has expanded into general programs of sanitation and preventive medicine.

In 1916 General William C. Gorgas, well known for his achievements in the sanitation of Havana and of the Panama

Canal Zone, headed a Yellow Fever Commission under the auspices of the foundation to Central and South America. After first-hand investigation, the commission reported that the seed beds of yellow fever were limited to a few centres—Guayaquil in Ecuador, Merida in Yucatan, suspected areas between Pernambuco and Bahia in Brazil, and possibly certain regions on the west coast of Africa. The commission recommended that an attempt be made to eradicate yellow fever from these endemic foci. Arrangements had been made early in 1917 to undertake this task, when the entrance of the United States into the war compelled the postponement of the plan.

#### ERADICATING YELLOW FEVER

In 1918 General Gorgas retired as Surgeon General of the Army and assumed the directorship of the yellow fever campaign of the Rockefeller Foundation. As a preliminary to practical field work, a special commission was sent to Guayaquil to investigate the causes of yellow fever. Dr. Hideyo Noguchi of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research was the bacteriologist of this commission. He made a series of experiments and investigations which resulted in the isolation of a minute organism to which he gave the name *Leptospira icteroides*, or "slim spiral," the jaundice maker. Later experiments in Yucatan and in Peru have confirmed the results of the investigation in Guayaquil, so that it seems altogether likely

that the germ of yellow fever has been identified. A serum prepared as a result of these researches has so far given encouraging results.

#### IN GUAYAQUIL

Field work in Guayaquil was undertaken in December, 1918. A systematic and thorough attack upon the breeding places of the stegomyia mosquito was undertaken. During 1918 more than 450 cases of fever had been recorded. As a result of anti-mosquito measures the number of cases fell from 88 in December, 1918, to 37 in February, 1919, to 13 in March, and to zero in June. Since that time there has been no recurrence of the fever.

Through the co-operation of Central American countries the spread of yellow fever from Southern Mexico has been checked and the danger of an outbreak seems to have been averted. Because of unsettled conditions in Mexico it has been impossible to enter into arrangements with the Government of that country; but it is hoped that in the early future it may be possible to carry out control measures which will put an end to dangers of infection from Yucatan and Southern Mexico.

A representative of the foundation has recently visited the east coast of Brazil, where the Brazilian Government is dealing with sources of infection in the region between Pernambuco and Bahia. The complete elimination of yellow fever from Rio de Janeiro some years ago shows that the Brazilian sanitarians are familiar with yellow fever control and may be counted upon to carry out their part of the world campaign.

It remains to investigate the disease which has been reported as yellow fever in certain areas in the vicinity of Lagos on the west coast of Africa. There is reason to suspect that this malady may be infectious jaundice rather than true yellow fever. In order to decide the question General Gorgas will head a commission to visit this region.\* He is already in Europe, and will soon set out with a

group composed of Dr. Juan Guiteras, General Robert E. Noble, Dr. J. P. Albuquerque of Brazil and Dr. A. E. Horn of the British Colonial Service. Dr. Adrian Stokes of Dublin, who for the last



DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT  
*Head of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York*  
(Central News Service)

few weeks has been working with Dr. Noguchi at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York, will serve as bacteriologist to the expedition, which will continue work begun some time ago by the British Government but abandoned during the war.

#### ATTACKS ON MALARIA

For the last four years under International Health Board auspices experiments in malaria control have been carried on in the States of Arkansas and Mississippi. Demonstrations in eight different communities have shown clearly that it is possible to control malaria at an annual per capita expense varying

\*This was written before the death of General Gorgas, which occurred in London in July before the commission had departed.—  
EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY.

from sixty cents to a dollar. Practical measures for combating malaria consist in eliminating mosquitos, screening houses against them, and in sterilizing malaria carriers by means of quinine. In a given case one or all of these methods may be used, according to local conditions. During the Summer of 1920 co-operative demonstrations in malaria control will be conducted in forty different towns in the Southern States of the United States. It is expected that experiments in malaria prevention will be extended to typical tropical regions.

The hookworm campaigns of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation have been carried on in a large number of areas which are under the British flag. The Colonial Office and various local Governments have shown deep interest and have welcomed the assistance of the board in a most friendly and effective way.

Work in the West Indies has included surveys and field operations in Antigua, co-operation with Government and with planters' associations in British Guiana, and typical control programs in Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. Surveys in Trinidad showed 75 per cent. of the population infected. The Government adopted stringent sanitary regulations, which are proving effective. In Jamaica a survey was made in 1918, and control measures inaugurated last year. The Government is enforcing sanitary laws strictly. Surveys have also been made in British Honduras, Barbados and the Cayman Islands.

The Far East has not been neglected. In Ceylon a condition of 98 per cent. infection was discovered among the estate laborers. This has resulted not only in curative measures, but in radical improvement in sanitation. Surveys in Papua and in Queensland have led to a large undertaking which is likely to extend to the whole of Australia. A co-operative five-year program has been adopted which aims at activities in the entire field of public health. In the Madras Presidency of India a hookworm campaign was inaugurated last April. Since February, 1918, control measures have been under way in the Seychelles

Islands, the Federated Malay States, in Java and in Fiji. From 1913 to 1915 hookworm prevention was undertaken in Egypt. As a result of war conditions this work was abandoned. Surveys or actual operations have been made or planned for Mauritius, Borneo, Straits Settlements, Tonga Islands and Tobago.

#### TRAINING HEALTH OFFICERS

The need for an expert personnel early impressed the officers of the International Health Board with the necessity of training persons to supervise and administer public health work. The foundation has therefore provided funds for establishing at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore a School of Hygiene and Public Health, in which a thorough training is being provided. Sir Arthur Newsholme of London has been serving during the current year as the Director of the Department of Public Health Administration. Not only are essential laboratory and research facilities provided, but arrangements are made by which practical training in the field is secured under the auspices of city, State and Federal health departments. A number of fellowships for men who desire to enter the field of public health service is provided. Among the fellows are representatives from Brazil, France, China and Czechoslovakia.

The interest of the foundation in public health has led logically to a concern for fundamental medical education. It is obvious that the progress of preventive medicine is dependent not only upon the training of public health officers but upon the attitude of the medical profession generally toward prevention of disease. The foundation, in co-operation with the General Education Board, also established by Mr. Rockefeller, but limited by its charter to gifts within the United States, has made appropriations to the University of Chicago, is establishing a modern medical centre in Peking and has plans for aid to medical education in other parts of the world.

The China Medical Board administers the work which is being established in China on a rather generous scale. The Peking Union Medical College will have



a hospital, an out-patient service, ample laboratory facilities, a pre-medical school for the preparation of students, and a teaching staff of foreigners and Chinese who have been well trained in Great Britain or the United States. Three of



JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

*Recent photograph taken on his return from a game of golf*

*(Underwood & Underwood.)*

the trustees of the college are British citizens resident in London.

The aims of the college are to offer a thorough education for general practitioners, graduate courses for the train-

ing of teachers, investigators and specialists, and brief courses for medical missionaries and other physicians. Opportunities for medical research, especially into diseases peculiar to the Orient, will also be provided. Attempts will be made to promote a general knowledge of the spirit and methods of Western medicine and the importance of preventive medicine. Aid is being given to a number of hospitals in different parts of China, and fellowships are being granted both to Chinese students and to missionaries on furlough in order that they may pursue advanced courses in Western university medical centres.

#### CANADIAN MEDICAL SCHOOLS

John D. Rockefeller, in connection with a new gift to the foundation at Christmas time, 1919, expressed the following desire with reference to medical education in Canada:

My attention has been recently called to the needs of some of the medical schools in Canada, but as the activities of the General Education Board are by its charter limited to the United States I understand that no part of that gift may be used for the Canadian schools. The Canadian people are our near neighbors. They are closely bound to us by the ties of race, language and international friendship, and they have without stint sacrificed themselves—their youth and their resources—to the end that democracy might be saved and extended. For these reasons, if your board should see fit to use any part of this new gift in promoting medical education in Canada, such action would meet with my very cordial approval.

In accordance with this suggestion of the founder, a preliminary survey of medical education in Canada has been made with a view to the distribution of \$5,000,000 to certain medical schools in the Dominion. The first gift of a half million to the medical school of Dalhousie University, Halifax, has already been announced.

The war against disease is a world war. Commerce carries dangerous infections as well as goods and ideas. The health problems of the remotest land concern all peoples. More and more nations are coming to recognize their interdependence in health as in industry, government, science and culture. There

are even now foreshadowings of world-wide co-operation in combating the maladies which have long threatened humanity. For this new campaign leaders are needed to extend the frontiers of medical science, to teach, to organize, to administer. Demonstrations are required to convince communities and nations that diseases can be controlled and

even eradicated. The Rockefeller Foundation, enlisted for this worldwide campaign against disease, is co-operating with many agencies in five continents, hopes to foster the growth of international confidence and good-will, and is thus seeking the fulfillment of its chartered purpose—"to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

## Bonuses Paid to Canadian Soldiers

By WILLIAM BANKS

**B**EFORE the close of the war Canadian soldiers honorably discharged for war reasons were given monetary assistance on a length of service basis for periods ranging from one to three months. This came to be known as post-discharge pay. The idea was to tide the men over in comfort until they could re-establish themselves in civilian occupations.

It was later realized that the system should be extended and include all ranks returning to Canada with the dispersal of the country's forces. An order was therefore passed on Dec. 21, 1918, establishing the War Gratuity. There have been some minor changes, but none in principle, and the order still stands. There are a number of cases still to be dealt with under its terms. It applies to all officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Canadian land and naval forces. Pay is on a sliding scale according to length and place of service, men who served in Canada only, or in England, not receiving as much as those who were in the actual theatres of war. It is based on payment at service rates, as if the man had continued to serve for a minimum period of 31 or a maximum of 183 days after he had received his honorable discharge from the army.

This is rounded out by minimum payment clauses, which provide that \$70 shall be regarded as the smallest monthly allowance in cases where the soldier has no dependents, and \$100 if he has dependents. The maximum period of payment is six months, and monthly checks are sent to the soldier and dependents during that time. The rates here given apply to ranks from that of private to Sergeant; officers, of course, receive more. In actual working out, any married private or non-commissioned officer who has served overseas for three or more years receives six monthly checks of \$100, or \$600 in all, while a single man who has no dependents gets \$420 in all. Occasionally somewhat larger amounts are paid, where men have received more than the pay of their rank on account of having been engaged in special or technical work. The same is true of commissioned ranks, but the variations are not numerous. It is noticeable that a considerable number of Canadians qualified for and have already received gratuities for three or more years of overseas. [See table below.]

By a recent arrangement Imperial or British Army troops who were resident in Canada before the war and have returned to take up their residence in the

Period of Payment.	Lieut. Col.	Major.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Non-Coms. & Privates.
183 days.....	\$1,133+\$360	\$915+\$300	\$732+\$240	\$549+\$180	\$420+\$180
153 days.....	956+ 300	765+ 250	612+ 200	459+ 150	350+ 150
122 days.....	762+ 240	610+ 200	488+ 160	366+ 120	280+ 120
92 days.....	575+ 180	460+ 150	368+ 120	276+ 90	210+ 90
61 days.....	361+ 120	305+ 100	264+ 80	183+ 60	140+ 60
31 days.....	194+ 60	155+ 50	124+ 40	93+ 30	70+ 30



REALISTIC DUGOUT IN FRONT OF CITY HALL, TORONTO, BUILT BY UNITED VETERANS' LEAGUE TO PROMOTE CAMPAIGN FOR \$2,000 BONUS  
(British and Colonial Press)

country, receive a grant sufficient to bring up their discharge pay to the standard of that of the Canadian. This has removed a source of bitterness, as very few of the Imperial army men received discharge allowances equal to those under the Canadian gratuity scheme.

In arriving at the individual amount of gratuity to be paid, the following schedule is used in conjunction with the minimum clauses mentioned:

Three years' service, any part overseas, in actual theatre of war, pay on the basis of 183 days' extra service.

Two years and under three, any part overseas, 153 days.

One year and under two years, any part overseas, 122 days.

Less than one year, any part overseas, 92 days.

Three years' Canadian service (meaning not in an actual theatre of war), 92 days.

Two years and less than three years, 61 days.

One year and less than two years, 31 days.

At the usual rates of pay prevailing during hostilities, the payments would work out in this manner:

Privates and non-commissioned officers, \$70 a month; wife or dependent, \$30 a month.

Lieutenants, \$3 a day; wife or dependent, \$30 a month.

Captain, \$4 a day; wife or dependent, \$40 a month.

Major, \$5 a day; wife or dependent, \$50 a month.

Lieutenant Colonel, \$6.25 a day; wife or dependent, \$60 a month.

Discarding the odd cents and working out a table, assuming that all the ranks given in it have dependents, would give results as shown in the table at foot of preceding page, the plus being the amount to dependents, and the figures down to and including the first "ninety-two days" being for men who were in an actual war theatre. From and including the second "ninety-two days" the figures apply to those who were retained in Canada or England.

Provision is made prohibiting payment of gratuities to men and officers who are dismissed, cashiered or deprived of commission for misconduct, sentenced to penal servitude for two years or more, or convicted by a civil power for offenses punishable by two or more years' imprisonment and committed before or after enlistment.

Men or officers who are ordered by a medical board to undergo treatment for stated or indefinite periods, and who have not received all the gratuity pay coming to them, will not get the balance of the amount due until their treatment

has been finished. The same principle applies to such men as are declared fit to undergo vocational training, if they come within the disabled and incapacitated classes for whom such training is arranged. The reason is that they draw allowances ranging from \$60 a month for single men and \$85 a month for married men without children up to \$128 a month for married men, with six children, during the period of their training. Any gratuity to which they may be entitled when vocational training allowances begin will be paid on the finish of the course.

Naval and militia authorities have power, in cases drawn to their attention, in which officers or men have failed to make proper provision for their wives and children, "whether legitimate or illegitimate," to direct that the gratuity

be applied to "making provision as far as possible for these dependents."

Gratuities are payable by checks sent to those entitled to them at the proper periods.

EDITORIAL NOTE—A very considerable number of Canadian ex-service men are still agitated for much larger sums to be paid to all the war. At the annual convention of the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada, held at Montreal on March 27, resolutions were passed calling upon Parliament for bonuses ranging from a minimum of \$1,000 to a maximum of \$2,500. The resolutions also asked that dependents or beneficiaries of men killed receive a lump sum equal to the amount the soldier would have received up to the day of the armistice. The Dominion Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. MacNeill, informed the delegates at Montreal that their scheme would cost \$215,000,000, and that the present Government had declared itself against indiscriminate cash bonuses.

## The Triumph of Woman Suffrage

### Ratification of Nineteenth Amendment by the Thirty-sixth State Ends a Campaign of Seventy-two Years

THE right to vote in full equality with men was won for the women of all the United States when Tennessee, the last of the thirty-six States required for making the suffrage amendment a law, voted for ratification on Aug. 18, 1920. By this action 9,500,000 women were added to the 17,500,000 already enfranchised by State suffrage, and approximately 27,000,000 women were given the constitutional right to vote in the Presidential election of 1920. Thus ended in a hard-won victory the long struggle of women to secure the ballot, which began officially in 1848, when Mrs. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton called the first suffrage convention in Seneca Falls, N. Y. The movement spread nation-wide, and then abroad; won political freedom for the women of almost every nation in the civilized world, and finally, after a bitter last-hour battle, triumphed also in America, where it had begun.

The resolution which was destined to become the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was passed by Congress on June 4, 1919. Its wording was identical with that of the original amendment drawn up by the pioneer of woman suffrage, Susan B. Anthony—the centenary of whose birth was celebrated last February—soon after the civil war had enfranchised the negro. The Anthony resolution, which was based on the Fifteenth Amendment in its phraseology, read as follows:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

By the ratification of the thirty-sixth State, this resolution, already passed by Congress, was permanently written into the Constitution of the United States, and the unremitting labors of such wo-



men as Mrs. Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Anthony, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Norman De R. Whitehouse and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt—to whom, as President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, much of the final victory was due—were crowned with success.

Below is a complete list of the thirty-six States that voted for the amendment, with the dates on which they acted. The letters R and S indicate whether the ratification was effected in regular or special session:

#### In 1919

1. Illinois	.....R	June 10
2. Wisconsin	.....R	June 10
3. Michigan	.....S	June 10
4. Kansas	.....R	June 16
5. Ohio	.....R	June 16
6. New York	.....S	June 16
7. Pennsylvania	.....R	June 24
8. Massachusetts	.....R	June 25
9. Texas	.....R	June 28
10. Iowa	.....S	July 2
11. Missouri	.....S	July 3
12. Arkansas	.....S	July 28
13. Montana	.....S	July 30
14. Nebraska	.....S	Aug. 2
15. Minnesota	.....S	Sept. 8
16. New Hampshire	.....S	Sept. 10
17. Utah	.....S	Sept. 30
18. California	.....S	Nov. 1
19. Maine	.....S	Nov. 5
20. North Dakota	.....S	Dec. 1
21. South Dakota	.....S	Dec. 4
22. Colorado	.....S	Dec. 12

#### In 1920

23. Rhode Island	.....R	Jan. 6
24. Kentucky	.....R	Jan. 6
25. Oregon	.....S	Jan. 12
26. Indiana	.....S	Jan. 16
27. Wyoming	.....S	Jan. 27
28. Nevada	.....S	Feb. 7
29. New Jersey	.....R	Feb. 9
30. Idaho	.....S	Feb. 11
31. Arizona	.....S	Feb. 12
32. New Mexico	.....S	Feb. 19
33. Oklahoma	.....S	Feb. 28
34. West Virginia	.....S	Mch. 10
35. Washington	.....S	Mch. 22
36. Tennessee	.....S	Aug. 18

It will be seen that of the thirty-six ratifying States, only ten ratified in regular session. The last great obstacle which the leaders of the suffrage movement had to overcome was the fact that in many of the States no regular sessions of the State Legislature were to be convoked in 1920, making it necessary to call special sessions in order to pass the amendment entitling women to vote in

the coming Presidential elections. A number of Governors declined to call such special sessions, either on the ground of their unconstitutionality or for other reasons. In some cases this decision was reversed; in others it was confirmed. The problem of those Governors who hesitated to call a special session on the ground of its expense was solved by Governor Allen of Kansas, who announced that the members of the Kansas Legislature would attend such a session at their own expense. In Oregon the special session called for Jan. 12 was defrayed by a special fund raised by the women.

In West Virginia the anti-suffrage opposition was so intense that the suffrage majority predicted did not materialize, and a tie vote was avoided only by a record trip made across the continent from California by Senator Bloch. Governor Hart of Washington at first refused to call a special session, and finally issued the call for March 22 only after the "Victory Convention" in Chicago sent an open letter to the women of Washington declaring that the situation was critical. The result of the session was ratification, leaving only one other necessary.

It was then that the final tug of war began in the effort to bring one or another of the States whose ratification was still lacking to come into line. Vainly in Delaware did the suffrage leaders strive to pass their resolution, which was defeated by a preponderant vote in the Assembly on April 1. The Governors of Vermont and Connecticut both refused, despite all urging, to call special sessions. Only Tennessee was left to the suffragists in order to carry the amendment, and it was in Tennessee that the crucial battle was fought.

The great obstacle in Tennessee was a provision of the State Constitution which declared that no Assembly of the State should act on any amendment of the United States Constitution unless such Assembly should have been elected after such an amendment had been submitted. This article had been adopted by the Tennessee Legislature in 1870, as a result of the ratification of the Four-

teenth Amendment in the Reconstruction Period, at a time when white citizens of Tennessee were not represented in the Legislature. A way appeared out of the difficulty, however, in a recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, which held as void a clause in the Constitution of the State of Ohio relating to referendum on amendments.

In view of this decision, which he accepted as applicable also to the situation in Tennessee, President Wilson on June 23 sent a message to Governor Roberts of Tennessee urging that he call a special session. On the following day he obtained from William L. Frierson, Acting Attorney General of the United States, an opinion declaring that the Tennessee Legislature, if called in special session, would have the clear power to ratify the Federal amendment. Acting on the Frierson opinion, as well as on the official advice of State Attorney Thompson, Governor Roberts then called the Legislature in extraordinary session to act on the suffrage amendment, declaring that the Supreme Court decision invalidated the obstructing clause in the Constitution of Tennessee. Rival campaigns by the suffrage and anti-suffrage forces at once began. Both Governor Cox and Senator Harding sent messages and personal representatives urging ratification. The anti-suffrage forces based much of their opposition on the ground of unconstitutionality.

The Legislature met on Aug. 9, but the amendment was not brought up in the Senate until Aug. 13. The suffragists, despite the unceasing activities of their organized lobby, were doubtful of success, and the result of the vote, which showed 25 for and only 4 against, came as a surprise. Heartened and excited by this success, they at once set to work to get a majority in the House of Representatives, on whose decision the whole success or failure of the amendment in 1920 depended. President Wilson again took a hand by telegraphing to the Speaker of the Tennessee House, urging that the amendment be passed.

The session of the House, on Aug. 18, was sensational to a high degree. Ninety-six of the ninety-nine members were

present. Debate had been in progress little more than an hour, and there was no indication that a vote was imminent, when Speaker Walker called Representative Ovington to the chair and took the floor to reply to a suffragist who had



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT  
*President of the National American Woman  
Suffrage Association*

charged that special interests were at work to defeat ratification. He intimated his belief that the measure was defeated, and, in view of the accusations made, called for the tabling of the measure. Instantly the Chamber was in an uproar. The Chairman, however, refused to recognize any one, and called for a vote. The result was a tie, 48 against 48. Many demanded another rollcall. This showed the same result. The Speaker then declared the motion lost for want of a majority.

Instantly the anti-suffrage forces demanded a vote on the original motion to concur in the Senate action. If another tie resulted, it meant rejection of the amendment. When the Speaker put the motion, hundreds of suffragists already

considered the battle lost. But the new vote developed the unexpected result of gaining the suffrage cause two new ayes, one, that of Representative Harry T. Burn, who had previously voted for tabling, and the other, that of Repre-



SUSAN B. ANTHONY  
*Suffrage pioneer, who wrote the Nineteenth Amendment*

sentative B. P. Turner, who at first failed to vote, but finally voted in the affirmative. The triumph of the suffragists was thus assured by a final vote of 50 against 48.

When this became clear there began a scene unprecedented in the annals of any legislative body. An uproarious demonstration started long before the official announcement, for the victory was obvious. Women screamed frantically. Many threw their arms around the necks of those nearest them, and danced frantically up and down, so far as this was possible in the dense throng of onlookers. Hundreds of suffragist banners were waved wildly. Many tore

off the yellow flowers which they wore as the symbol of their cause and threw them upward to meet a similar shower from the galleries. Some cried for joy. The official pronouncement of the result and a motion for adjournment till the following day passed unheard in the tumult. The campaign of over three-and-a-half-score years was won. The women had gained the ballot, the political equality of their sex was recognized.

Technicalities still remained blocking the way to send the certification to Secretary of State Colby. A temporary injunction was served on the Speaker by the anti-ratificationists at the session of Aug. 21, and thirty-seven legislators belonging to the antis left the State in order to avoid voting for confirmation. The suffragists, however, forced a vote without the legal quorum, despite the opposition of the anti-suffragist Speaker, giving the result of 50 against 0. The Speaker declared this vote to be illegal. Further steps were taken by the anti-suffrage forces to prevent ratification on Aug. 22, when the injunction already served was extended to the Chief Clerks of the Senate and House respectively.

From Decatur, Ala., where the thirty-seven bolters had taken refuge, an appeal was sent to the people of Tennessee to hold mass meetings of protest, on the ground that the vote had been obtained by improper lobby activities and was contrary to the will of the people of the State, and urging them so to arouse public sentiment that the legislators who voted for the measure would be compelled to rescind their vote. Both the Governor and the Attorney General of the State, on the other hand, declared that the amendment had been ratified, and that only the injunction prevented certification to Washington.

Governor Roberts, after receiving from the State Attorney General an opinion that a writ of certiorari and supersedeas issued on Aug. 23 by Chief Justice Lansden of the Tennessee Supreme Court dissolved in effect the injunction served, on the following day sent the certification of Tennessee's ratification to Secretary Colby, thus making the process complete. This action took the antis by

surprise, and they denounced it as arbitrary and high-handed. Their last stand was made in Washington on Aug. 25, when they asked the District of Columbia Supreme Court to issue an injunction restraining Secretary Colby from issuing a proclamation declaring the amendment to be law. The Justice dismissed the application on the ground that the court had not the power to act.

The long struggle ended at 8 o'clock on the morning of Aug. 26, when Bainbridge Colby, as Secretary of State, issued the proclamation announcing that the Nineteenth Amendment had become a part of the Constitution of the United States. The signing of the proclamation took place at that hour at Secretary Colby's residence without ceremony of any kind; none of the leaders of the woman suffrage movement was present. The plans of the

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## The Sky Is Now Her Limit



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## "Deal Me In!"



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

National Woman's Party to be represented by a delegation of women and to have the historic event filmed by moving-picture machines for public display and permanent record thus came to naught. A prominent member of the party declared that the failure of these plans was "quite tragic."

### TEXT OF PROCLAMATION

Following is the proclamation signed by Secretary Colby on Aug. 26:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,  
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, That the Congress of the United States at the first session, Sixty-sixth Congress, begun at Washington on the nineteenth day of May, in the year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, passed a resolution as follows:

To wit:

Joint resolution.

Proposing an amendment to the Con-



[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## "Equal Pardners Now, Ma!"



—Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland

stitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

## ARTICLE

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in the Department of State that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New

Mexico, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 26th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## If They Only Knew!



—New York World

The Tennessee House of Representatives, with a full quorum present—including the thirty-seven bolters—on Aug. 31 expunged the record of ratification from its journal, and voted, 47 to 24, with 20 not voting, not to concur in ratification. It furthermore adopted a motion on Sept. 2 to furnish the Governor with a sworn transcript of its vote of non-concurrence, including a request that the Governor certify this transcript to Secretary Colby. It was not believed, however, either by the State or by Washington officials, that this belated action

would alter the effect of the formal proclamation issued by the Secretary of State.

The National Woman's Party on Aug. 21 issued a statement giving the cost of its activities from June 4, 1919, when the amendment passed the Senate, to Aug. 18, when Tennessee voted for ratification. The total sum expended was \$149,599.36. Of this amount \$80,000 was spent in Tennessee. All the funds expended were obtained by voluntary subscription.

## International Woman Suffrage Congress

### Progress of Worldwide Movement

**I**N view of the triumph of the women in the United States, the proceedings at Geneva earlier in the Summer deserve to be recorded. The eighth congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance opened in Geneva, Switzerland, on Sunday, June 6, 1920. Women delegates from many countries listened to a sermon preached by Miss Maud Royden, pastor of the City Temple, London, in the Geneva Cathedral. This was the first occasion on which a woman had preached in a Geneva church. Miss Royden's frail figure in black seemed almost lost in the great pulpit from which, many years before her, both Calvin and Knox had preached. A touch of color was lent by ten Indian women delegates in their costumes of many hues. Miss Royden delivered her sermon in both French and English. She exhorted the women of the world to foster fraternity among mankind and to aid the work of humanity in rebuilding the ruin caused by the war.

The first official meeting of the congress was held on the evening of the same day. The principal speaker was Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and also President of the International Alliance. Speaking on the progress of the suffrage movement throughout the world, Mrs. Catt pointed out that women all through Europe had

been given the franchise, and lamented the fact that only America, the home of democracy, still withheld from her sex the ballot. Less than two months and a half later (Aug. 18) Tennessee ratified the Nineteenth Federal Amendment, and woman suffrage became an established fact in the United States. Mrs. Catt's address was, in part, as follows:

For the suffragettes of the world a few facts stand forth with great clarity. The first and greatest is that the political liberation of women was tossed up out of the war chaos like an isolated mountain when the world was in the making. War, the undoubted original cause of the humiliating, age-old subjection of women the world around; war, the chief enemy of their emancipation, has tendered to the women of many lands their political freedom. Strange, bewildering fact!

The Latin and Oriental countries still hold out, but that will not be for long. Rumania, the first Latin country to extend the vote to women, has already led the way; the others will follow. I believe no country in Europe, except Turkey, now is without a woman suffrage association. Women will soon vote wherever men do. Yet while all these old barriers are swept aside in many lands and men and women enfranchised, the task is not yet completed in the countries where women have labored hardest and where the principle of democracy has longest been unchallenged.

There must be millions of women in Europe who never hoped for political liberty and who are now dazed by its sudden coming. The women of Norway, Denmark and Iceland have long been en-

franchised, but Germany has outstripped all other nations in the recognition of the principle of equality, with 137 women serving on City Councils and 37 as members of the National Parliament. The President of the German National Suffrage Association comes to this congress as a member of the City Council of Dresden.

It is not for me to interpret the sentiment of the women of other lands, but with authority I may say that there are millions of suffragists in the United States who have been fairly stupefied with astonishment at these almost unaccountable events. As all the world knows, the United States of America has been dedicated from the first to the principle of self-government. No other nation has made the same pronouncements.

No other country has repudiated its Constitution, principles and history in its denial of votes to its women, and that is why the extension of suffrage to the women of all Europe has so humiliated the women of the United States. Women of the United States are not less glad that women of other lands have won the vote, but they feel that they have been betrayed by their own nation.

It was in the United States that the first woman suffrage convention was held and the first organized woman suffrage movement in the world begun. That was seventy-two years ago. Had men been reasonable or logical, they would at once have responded to the appeal of 1848 with the consistent answer, "Since we are a Government of the people, and women are people, they must be included in all governmental functions." But men are neither reasonable nor logical; men are exceedingly emotional and sentimental. The race is too near its cave days to be otherwise.

Is it not clear that the time has passed for women to work for the enfranchisement of women alone? Why should not the International Woman Suffrage Alliance give way to an International Suffrage Alliance, sending forth its propaganda for the enfranchisement of men as well as women? And why should not men and women of democratic vision unite in this common aim? Most countries have had men's leagues to aid woman suffrage; why not united men's and women's leagues to aid the enfranchisement of both men and women or either?

Formal sessions of the congress began on June 7. Among the subjects officially announced for discussion were the following:

The extension of suffrage to women of unenfranchised countries; the economic, civic and moral equality of women with men; recent advanced legislation, such

as the new 1920 Swedish law of marriage and guardianship, the 1919 Italian law on marriage, professions and civil statutes; sex disabilities removal act by Great Britain; mothers' pensions in Norway and the United States; woman's status as affecting children.

Special addresses were made on municipal government by women who were members of City Councils. Among the speakers were Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Town Councilor and Justice of the Peace in Liverpool; Mme. Planinkova, Town Councilor of Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Mrs. C. Malcolm, Town Councilor in the Transvaal. Frau Lindemann, head of the Württemberg Labor Office, told of the new German Constitution's provisions for equal opportunities and for the right of a woman to retain a position after marriage. Fru Arenholt and Fru Elna Munch told of Denmark's equal-pay law.

The discussions continued until June 12. Several resolutions were passed at the final session, among them one thanking the press of the world for its aid, and another congratulating the twenty-one countries which since the holding of the last Congress had given the vote to women. Another resolution felicitated women on the fact that the League of Nations admits women to all its activities, while still another urged the women of the world to use their utmost powers to prevent future wars, and to educate their children to a better international understanding. The question of whether the women should strive for a woman's bureau on the League of Nations was deferred to the holding of the next congress.

Among those who attended the congress were Lady Astor, officially appointed by Lloyd George; Mrs. Josephus Daniels, the official United States delegate; Miss Anna Whitlock, first President of the National Swedish Woman's Suffrage Society; Dr. Pauline Luisi of Uruguay; Mrs. Edward Guantlett, a Japanese, representing Japan; Dr. Brunhilde Wion of Buenos Aires, Mme. Achille Duchène of Paris. Many other countries were represented. With Mrs. Daniels went a large American delegation.

# The New Republic of Thuringia

## Seven German States Confederated

THE creation of a republic within a republic is an interesting phenomenon, especially when it occurs in a land which has just issued from a great war, followed by the overthrow of an age-old military and political despotism. On May 1, 1920, the Republic of Thüringen (in English, Thuringia) was officially proclaimed in Germany. The new political unit is made up of seven former States in the rich region often called "the heart of Germany," which has produced many of the nation's greatest geniuses in literature, art and music. In a special Thuringian number of the *Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig) issued in August a fascinating story is unfolded, showing how this fertile land first acquired political importance, was incorporated with the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne, became the cradle of the Minnesingers who sang their courtly songs in the Middle Ages, and fell a prey to the ambitions of Emperors and Princes for centuries, until it lost all political unity and was absorbed by Prussia in 1815. Not until after the World War and the revolution was Thuringia able to fulfill its dream of uniting in a confederation of States, to be administered within the German Republic, but on a basis of complete autonomy.

The Thuringian people, who for so many centuries have preserved their consciousness as a distinct branch of the Teutonic stock, trace their racial lineage back to the amalgamation of the Cherusker tribe with invading Angles from the north in the early centuries of our era. The Thuringians were favored both in their rich and beautiful homelands and in their cultural and intellectual endowments. The very name recalls great national figures and the cities which they made famous: The old castle of Wartburg, the home of the great Minnesinger, where Martin Luther, hiding from the wrath of the Pope, made his first translation of the Bible; Jena, seat of one of Germany's most famous

universities; Weimar, home of the serene Goethe, of Schiller, of Bach and Liszt.

Now, at last, Thuringia, long a cultural unity, becomes also a political unity, a republic within a republic.

The problem of Thuringian unity, like that of the larger German movement for unification, went long deferred. It failed of achievement both at the Vienna Congress following the wars of liberation and in the fruitless attempt to found the empire in 1848. In a memorandum to the Vienna Congress, the Minister of Weimar—von Gersdorff—declared that the status of Thuringia did not correspond to the true needs of German national welfare, and advocated the federation of the Thuringian States in order to augment their political importance. This memorandum was followed by the creation of a number of administrative institutions in certain of these States. The Thuringian Supreme Court was founded at Jena in 1817. This court was transformed in 1879 into the National Supreme Court, and won the participation even of Prussia. The Thuringian districts in 1883 formed themselves into the Thuringian Customs and Tax Union as a provincial branch of the German Customs Union. The establishment of the Thuringian High Court in 1912 was more or less of a fiasco because three of the States withheld their sanction.

The movement, however, crystallized in November, 1917, when Professor Eduard Rosenthal of Jena demanded in the Weimar Landtag the unification of administrative and legislative functions. He was supported by resolutions adopted in almost all the Thuringian Provincial Assemblies. The carrying out of this program was interrupted by the revolution; yet, after the storm had broken, it was clear to all that the day of Thuringian unity was near. The Prussian districts, it is true, after giving a preliminary consent to join such a union, withdrew their sanction and decided to stay





with Prussia. In March, 1918, the two Reuss States fused into one, and in April the alliance between Coburg and Gotha was dissolved. The eight Thuringian States—Weimar, Meiningen, Reuss, Altenburg, Gotha, Coburg, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt and Schwarzburg-Sondershausen—in the same year signed a Federal treaty of alliance. Meiningen, in January, 1920, confirmed a provisional adhesion, but Coburg, after taking a plebiscite, decided to link itself with Bavaria.

The Volksrat was given the task of drawing up the Constitution of the seven consenting States. Meanwhile, on April 30, 1920, a national decree was issued on the basis of Article 18 of the National Constitution, which sanctioned the union of the seven free States of Thuringia into one Federal State, to be recognized as such from May 1, 1920. The Constitution of the new State was published on May 12. It declared, in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, that Thuringia was a democratic republic.

In accordance with the principles of representative democracy, the Landtag is the chief and central organ of the State, exercising the legislative power, supervising the administration and electing the Landesregierung (Provincial Council).

The Provincial Council, on the other hand, is based on the collegiate principle befitting a federation. Each of the seven free States throughout the period of transition is bound to send a Minister or State Councilor to represent it in the Provincial Council, in order that the specific interests of all component parts of the new republic should be preserved. The various Ministries (Interior, Justice, Education, Finance, &c.) are to be distributed to this Council of Seven. All appointed Ministers are responsible to the Landtag. The Ministers of the Council have authority to decide all matters of great political importance, such as State treaties, Landtag business, administrative and executive decrees, right of pardon, appointment of officials, inheritance and prop-

erty divisions, &c. The President of the Council is to be chosen by the other members, and is made only *primus inter pares*.

The handling of foreign affairs and the like, of course, remains in the hands of the central Government at Berlin.

Thus has the "national heart" of Germany, after hundreds of years of small State life, formed itself into a self-

conscious republic counting half a million Thuringians. German patriots have welcomed the new State and declared that it will be a source of new national strength. The Thuringians, meanwhile, hope that the districts which have declared for Prussia (see accompanying map) will yet be absorbed and that the full aspiration embodied in the slogan, "Grossthüringen," will yet be fulfilled.

## Soldiers' Councils in the Austrian Army

### Soviet Idea in Modified Form Adopted as a Democratic Measure—Similar Steps Taken in Germany

SOME extremely interesting developments have taken place in Germany and Austria with regard to attempts to democratize the army system. In both countries the revolution was accompanied by the formation of Councils of Soldiers, somewhat on the model of the Russian revolutionary Soldiers' Councils, or Soviets. The problem has since arisen of giving these councils a regular and recognized position.

In Austria an army law was recently passed providing for such recognition, and in accordance with this law the Minister for the Army issued a decree containing regulations for the constitution of councils. The Minister was a Socialist, and the non-Socialist members of the Austrian Coalition Government—the Christian-Democrats—attacked the decree as unconstitutional. This led to the resignation of the Minister for War and the break-up of the Coalition. Following is the text of the decree:

*Decree of the Austrian Minister for the Army in Execution of the Articles of the New Army Law Relating to Soldiers' Councils:*

All non-commissioned officers and members of the rank and file of the defense force have a vote. All those on the army pay list of a unit are eligible for election in that unit.

Delegates (soldiers' councilors) are attached as follows: To the company commander for the business of the company; to the battalion commander for the business of the battalion (infantry or artillery bat-

talion); to the regimental commander for the business of the regiment; to the Federal district commander as long as these continue to function, subsequently to the Quartermaster Generals' offices for the business of their districts; to the brigade commander for the business of the brigade; to the Secretary of State for the Army for business touching all rank and file and non-commissioned officers in the defense force.

Each company not exceeding 100 men shall elect two; exceeding 100 men, three delegates and the same number of substitutes.

The delegates (soldiers' councilors) attached to company commanders shall elect from among their own number one delegate per company to be attached to the battalion commander and the regimental commander.

The delegates (soldiers' councilors) attached to independent companies, to battalion commanders, and to regimental commanders shall elect from among their own number three delegates to be attached to the Federal district commanders (subsequently the Quartermaster Generals' offices) and to the brigade commanders of their district or brigade, respectively.

Soldiers' councilors elected by companies and by battalions shall normally continue their service in their company. The same shall apply to one-half the number of delegates attached to the regimental commander; they shall regularly be replaced by the other half. Should their own company not be serving at those quarters where they were elected, they shall be transferred to a company serving at such quarters for the period of their election.

Delegates attached to other commands shall devote their whole time to watching the interests of their electors and shall be freed from all service duties for the period of their election.

The first elections shall take place between



SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS OF THE NEW AUSTRIAN ARMY. THE SIMPLICITY OF THEIR UNIFORMS IS IN HARMONY WITH THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY THAT NOW PREVAILS  
(© International)

June 1 and 15. A committee of three members shall be appointed to conduct the elections; this committee shall consist of members of previous soldiers' councils, or, failing these, of their substitutes or senior electors. A list of candidates shall be drawn up for each company. Time and place of election shall be settled in agreement with the soldiers' councils.

Voting shall be by direct ballot. Every elector must appear personally before the election committee.

The voting list shall contain twice as many names as there are vacancies to be filled.

Such persons shall be declared to have been elected as, on a comparison of votes, have obtained the largest number of ballots. Elected candidates may not refuse election unless they have previously served as delegates (soldiers' councilors).

Elections for delegates to be attached to the battalion and regimental commanders shall be carried out by means of a summons issued by the company commanders to the soldiers' councilors attached to themselves; delegates elected by units directly under regimental command shall similarly be summoned by their officers. The election of a delegate to be attached to the battalion and the regimental commander shall be made by oral or by written vote.

All the delegates attached to commanders of independent units, to battalion com-

manders, and to regimental commanders, serving in Brigades 1 to 5, shall meet and elect from among their own number three delegates to be attached to the Federal district commander (Quartermaster Generals' offices), three delegates to be attached to the brigade commander and one delegate to be attached to the Secretary of State for the Army.

In Brigade 6, delegates attached to those officers commanding independent units, to the battalion commanders, and to the regimental commanders, who are serving in any one of the Federal countries of Carinthia, or Salzburg, or Tyrol, or Vorarlberg, shall meet in such Federal country, and shall respectively choose for each country one delegate to be attached to the brigade commander or the Secretary of State for the Army, and three delegates to be attached to Federal district commander (Quartermaster Generals' offices). The question as to which country shall actually send its delegate to be attached to the Secretary of State for the Army shall in the first instance be fixed by lot. The lot shall be drawn at a meeting of the four delegates at brigade headquarters. Subsequently delegates shall be attached in the order of the alphabetical rotation of the initial letters of the names of the countries; (thus, should Vorarlberg send its delegate this time, the next delegate would be sent by Carinthia).

The results of elections shall be communi-



cated to the authorities to whom the delegates are to be attached.

Delegates may be recalled on demand of their original electors. Recalls shall be effected in the same manner as elections. A delegate shall be held to have been recalled if two-thirds of the votes recorded demand his recall.

The regulations of previous decrees apply to the journeys of delegates. In urgent cases use may be claimed of telegraph and telephone. Delegates attached to divisional or higher officers shall have suitable rooms, equipment and clerical help put at their disposal.

Delegates may not be obstructed in the execution of their duties; nor may they be held responsible either during the period of their election or after its expiry, on account of representations or activities falling within their proper competence by the definition of the army law, nor on account of votes recorded or opinions expressed by them; they are accountable for the latter to their electors alone.

Delegates may not be transferred during the period of their election except with the consent of the delegates attached to the Secretary of State for the Army (the Central Soldiers' Council).

Disputes between delegates shall be referred to arbitration tribunals, elected by the delegates themselves and constituted according to their own discretion.

The election of officers' delegates is at present deferred, as no selection or confirmation of officers has yet been effected.

[From the *Neue Freie Presse*, May 31, 1920, afternoon edition.]

#### MESSAGE TO GERMAN WORKERS

A national conference of the Austrian Soldiers' Councils, which took place on March 25 and 26, 1920, sent a message of greeting to the German proletariat, which threw an interesting light on the views of the rank and file in the Austrian Army. In this message the Defense Force of the German Austrian Republic sent thanks to the workers of Germany for the speedy suppression of the Kapp-Lüttwitz coup, but went on to say:

The defense policy of the National Executive Committee of the German Austrian Soldiers' Councils has been inspired from the outset by the idea of asserting the original proletarian character of the Defense Force, of suppressing the influence of the conservative officers by means of watchfulness and the power of the Soldiers' Councils, and by preserving the absolute unity of front among proletarian soldiers above all party divisions within the working class, of placing at the disposal of the whole proletariat and the republic a weapon which can never be misused for counter-revolutionary purposes.

The National Executive Committee has pressed successfully in the debates on the Army act just passed for sufficient opportunity within the future army for the application of these principles.

The National Conference recognizes as the source of the German Republic's most deep-seated trouble an army which has been deliberately estranged from the workers and handed over to counter-revolutionary officers. The army was rendered non-political and the Soldiers' Councils made powerless in the army. As a result the non-political Defense Force became the tool of the policy of revolutionary officers.

The National Conference therefore expresses its earnest desire that the workers of the German Republic may succeed in transforming an army estranged from the people into a Defense Force which, rooted in the hearts of the people, may become a true protection for the people.

[*Freiheit*, April 4, 1920, morning edition.]

#### ARMY AND NAVY CHAMBERS IN GERMANY

In Germany a somewhat different course has been taken. There Army and Navy Chambers, elected by the army and navy, are to form advisory and consultative bodies. The following article from the *Berliner Tageblatt* explains the system and the Order in Council issued by the President of the Realm laying down the regulations for the constitution of these chambers:

In the period between July 1 and 30 the elections for an Army Chamber will take place. This will create for the first time professional representation in the army, which is intended to form a link between headquarters, the Ministry of Defense and the troops. The new scheme is a result of practical experience. Since 1919 a new method of calling attention to wishes and suggestions has grown up, and has hitherto been regarded as contrary to discipline. Almost daily delegations of troops and individual officers appear in Berlin, and, as a rule, nothing can be promised them beyond an inquiry into the matter about which they are appealing. As this state of affairs cannot remain permanent, while on the other hand it is recognized that it is desirable to give the troops a means of communication with headquarters other than through their superior officers, an Army Chamber has been created. It will be placed on a legal basis through the Army bill, which could not be passed through all its stages on account of the military coup. The Army Chamber which is now about to meet is, therefore, only provisional. Experience gathered from it will determine the methods to be adopted in the case of the permanent Army Chamber. The members of the chamber will be elected secretly, the offi-



cers by officers, the non-commissioned officers by non-commissioned officers, the men by their comrades. The Army Chamber will consist in all of fourteen officers, thirteen non-commissioned officers, twenty-nine men, thirteen medical and technical officers and officials. It will consist of a main committee (of fourteen officers, seven non-commissioned officers and ten men), which will deal with matters of concern to the whole army, and six sub-committees—an officers' committee, a medical officers' committee, a veterinary surgeons' committee, an artillery and ordnance officers' committee, a non-commissioned officers' committee and a men's committee.

Besides the Army Chamber there will be a Navy Chamber, constituted on corresponding lines. Joint sittings of the main committees of the Army and Navy Chambers are provided for. When the committees are discussing drafts of bills the Chief of the General Staff may add to the members of the committee by sending representatives of the Ministry of Defense, who, however, cannot vote.

[*Berliner Tageblatt*, June 12, 1920, evening edition.]

#### TEXT OF OFFICIAL ORDER

The President of the Realm and the Minister of Defense issue the following Order in Council:

*Order in Council respecting the establishment of Provisional Army and Navy Chambers:*

1. Provisional Army and Navy Chambers shall be formed as advisory and consultative bodies. The former will be subject to the Chief of the General Staff, the latter to the Chief of the Admiralty. When important and vital questions concerning the whole defense force arise the Minister of Defense may unite both Chambers for joint consultation.

2. The activities of the two Chambers shall include (a) co-operation in the drafting of bills which affect the defense force, and (b) consideration of wishes and suggestions coming from the defense force and touching matters of principle.

3. The members of the Chamber and their Deputies shall be elected by secret ballot. Membership shall hold good until the permanent Chambers are elected.

4. The Army Chamber shall consist of: One officer from the department of the Chief Command and the Quartermaster General; further, in each circuit group, one General, one Colonel, one staff officer on the staff of a division, or the commander of a battalion, &c. (staff officer); one senior Surgeon General or Surgeon Major, one physician of a brigade or chief physician or assistant physician, one Captain or senior Lieutenant or Lieutenant from each military circuit—a total of thirteen non-commissioned officers and twenty-nine men of the most

varied types of arms from all military circuits—one Director General of the Army Medical Department or Surgeon General, one Veterinary Surgeon General or senior Veterinary Surgeon General, one staff Veterinary Surgeon or senior Veterinary Surgeon, three artillery or ordnance officers, one senior and one junior official of the Defense Force.

5. The Navy Chamber shall consist of: One Admiralty officer, one flag officer; further, one officer of Marine Engineers and one Surgeon General; one senior Surgeon General or Surgeon Major from both stations and from each station one senior staff officer (naval officer), two Lieutenant Captains or senior Lieutenants or Lieutenants (in each case one naval officer and one officer of marine engineers), one naval Surgeon Major or senior naval assistant physician or naval assistant physician, one warrant officer of marine land divisions, one non-commissioned officer of marine land divisions, three men (two from marine land divisions and one from the naval forces), one warrant officer and two non-commissioned officers from the naval forces, one senior and one junior official of the Defense Force.

[The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, from which the foregoing order is translated, added the following:]

The instructions for carrying out the order decree that the Army Chamber shall hold its deliberations in one main committee and six special committees. The main committee includes all services. The special committees consist of members of the various services. No committee of officials is to be formed, because the officials are represented in the Civil Servants' Council (*Beamtenbeirat*). Officers, non-commissioned officers and men elect representatives from among themselves; the men, however, from among their delegates (*Vertrauensleuten*). They must have belonged to the Defense Force for at least three years and must be at least 25 years of age. The voting is secret.

The Professional Union of Active Officers of the German Officers' Society opposed the election of representatives and wished that the Professional Union should select the members, since it includes all officers except a small minority, and believes that it is better acquainted with the officers concerned. But the Ministry refused to consider this, because otherwise the same concession must have been made to the National Industrial Union of German Professional Soldiers, which also advocates nomination in place of election. Moreover, the Ministry regards election as the only means by which the rights of the minority can be assured. Experience will show whether particular provisions in the order must be altered later when legislation is introduced.

[*Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 13, 1920, morning edition.]

# Self-Government in German Schools

## Decree Extending the System

**A** MOST interesting experiment in introducing a measure of self-government in schools is being tried in Germany. As early as December, 1918, an education decree was issued establishing in every training college and public school a School Commonwealth and a School Council elected by the pupils. (The text of the decree was published in the International Review of February, 1919.) According to the Ministry of Education, an inquiry has shown that the experiment has been successful, and a further decree developing and extending the system was recently issued. The following is the text of this new decree:

BERLIN, April 21, 1920.

*The Minister for Learning, Art and Popular Education. U II. 952 U III.*

Decree U II., 1967 and 1968 U II W, Decree U II., 1967 and 1968 U II. W, III. 1, U II. W, &c., and also the provisions of the instructions of Dec. 12, 1910, and of March 10, 1912, are designed to encourage the pupils to play an active part in the general life of their school, and thus to promote and strengthen independence and a sense of responsibility, consciousness of community life, and confidence among the pupils and between teachers and pupils.

A circular of inquiry has shown that experiments in self-government among the pupils have given overwhelmingly favorable results. This provides a secure basis for their further development. In order to meet wishes expressed on many sides, greater freedom is to be left to individual institutions, the special circumstances being taken into consideration. Institutions established under the earlier decrees may continue. Otherwise the following stipulations and directions are to be observed in future.

Copies are annexed for the head masters and head mistresses of the boys' and girls' secondary schools and of teachers' training colleges.

### STIPULATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR PUPILS' SELF-GOVERNMENT

#### I. SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE NARROWER SENSE

1. At the beginning of each school half-year the pupils of all classes shall elect delegates by secret ballot. In the first half-year of the Sixth (Seventh Class of the Lycée) the delegates may be nominated by the form master (or mistress). The number of delegates and their term of office

shall be determined by the Teachers' Council.

The other offices in the class shall also be filled by election. The Teachers' Council shall decide the term of office.

2. The Class Delegates, with the other class officers, shall constitute the Class Committee.

3. In the case of nine-year schools the delegates of the classes from and including U II. (Lycée I.) upwards, in the case of six-year schools from and including U III. (Lycée III.) upwards, in the case of teachers' training colleges all the classes, shall constitute the Pupils' Committee, which shall elect a "Councilor" from the ranks of the teachers. This Councilor shall form the connecting link between the Pupils' Committee and the Teachers' Council. It is recommended that the Pupils' Committee should be supplemented by one representative of each school society.

#### II. CLASS AND SCHOOL COMMUNE

##### a. CLASS COMMUNE

At least once a month the form master, or by agreement with him another teacher of the class, shall make use of a lesson hour for discussion of the affairs of the whole class, or of other questions raised by the pupils. The other members of the staff who teach the class in question may take part in this class commune in so far as they are not engaged in teaching. By the wish of the Class Committee the Class Commune shall also meet independently; during lesson hours not more than once a fortnight, out of school hours more often.

The association of several classes in joint discussions is permissible.

##### b. SCHOOL COMMUNE

1. The classes mentioned in I. 3 may unite in a School Commune. The School Commune shall itself determine whether further classes shall be admitted permanently or on special occasions.

2. It shall be the purpose of the School Commune to lead the pupils to a comprehension of the great community in which they are placed, and to offer them the opportunity to co-operate in its construction and development. It shall, therefore, promote free discussion of questions concerning the school and life in general. Criticism of individual members of the staff is not permitted. With the consent of the Teachers' Council, persons from outside the school may be admitted as speakers.

3. Where no School Commune yet exists a vote shall be taken on its initiation, class by class, at the beginning of each school year.

4. The Chairman of the Pupils' Committee or the Councillor shall conduct the business of the School Commune.

5. The School Commune shall lay down its own rules of procedure.

6. The members of the staff shall have the right to take part in the proceedings of the School Commune in an advisory capacity.

7. The School Commune shall meet at least once a month during lesson hours.

8. The School Commune shall have the right to make suggestions to the Teachers' Council through the Pupils' Committee.

9. The Pupils' Committee shall be responsible to the School Commune, and shall lay before it a report on its activities.

10. A School Commune may be dissolved only at the close of the school half-year by a three-quarters majority of those who have the right to vote.

### III. GENERAL STIPULATIONS

At the close of the school year a report upon all institutions established for the purpose of school self-government shall be made to the Provincial School Board. In case annual reports are again issued, a report shall be included on the activities of the organs of self-government, drawn up by the Chairman of the committee and countersigned by the Councillor.

In inspecting the establishments the Provincial School Councils shall inquire into the position of self-governing institutions, especially by means of conversations with the Councillor and the Pupils' Committee or the School Commune.

On July 1 of each year (for the first time on July 1, 1921,) the Provincial School Boards shall give a general report on the development of pupils' self-government.

HAENISCH.

(From *Die Neue Erziehung*, May 16, 1920.)

## The Czarina and Rasputin

### Her Letters to the Czar Reveal Her Awe of the Intriguing Priest and Her Own Part in Russia's Downfall

THE central figures of the great Russian drama of revolution and death are strongly illumined by the series of letters written by the Czarina to the Czar in 1915. During that year of disaster the Czar made long visits to the Russian Army Headquarters, went to Sebastopol, and journeyed to the front. The Czarina scarcely let a day go by without writing to her royal husband. Her letters, written in English (almost her mother tongue), are of historical interest both for their revelation of the writer's personality and for their bearing on events. Four main threads run through them—an intense affection for her husband, fear of exposure of Rasputin, hatred of the Duma and all the democratic strivings which that assembly symbolized, and fierce jealousy of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch, who, until Rasputin had him dismissed, was Commander in Chief of the Russian armies.

The Czarina's letters have been published in newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic, but a recent analysis of them—made by a correspondent of The Man-

chester Guardian, who had access to the originals in the State archives of Soviet Russia at Moscow—make possible a brief survey of their most striking features. The letters are numbered from 265 to 415, and dated from Jan. 21 to Dec. 31, 1915. As victory turns to defeat, and defeat unchains the smoldering discontent already undermining the power of the Russian autocracy, the ever-increasing anxiety of the Czarina is reflected in her messages. There are enemies everywhere, and the Czarina sees her life and that of her husband threatened on every hand. She is indefatigable in exhortations to the Czar to show his authority, to remember that he is a *Samoderzhets* (autocrat), to show an iron hand. It becomes clear from the tenor of these letters that she, and not the Czar, was the dominating personality.

### RASPUTIN

Rasputin is continually mentioned with a superstitious awe, and the pronouns, He, His, Him, are always capitalized, as when one speaks of the Divinity. He is



THE FAMOUS MONK, GREGORY RASPUTIN, SURROUNDED BY FEMININE ADMIRERS AT THE RUSSIAN COURT. BECAUSE OF THE SINISTER POWER HE WIELDED THROUGH THE CZARINA, HE WAS ASSASSINATED BY A GROUP OF NOBLES

(© Underwood & Underwood)

also called "our Friend," "the Man of God," and invested with the dignity of a special ambassador sent to Tsarskoe Selo by the Almighty. The Czarina expresses her belief that the country would be visited by a divine vengeance if the Czar should allow him to be "persecuted." She hates the Grand Duke because he has been a "traitor" to the "Man of God." Clear evidences of Rasputin's venality and lack of scruple leave her conception of his sanctity unimpaired.

From these letters it appears that Rasputin, far more astute than either the Czarina or the Czar, perceived the coming cataclysm, and advised measures to check the rising tide. The dramatic appearance of the Czar before the Duma was Rasputin's suggestion. Measures to relieve the food scarcity, which Rasputin realized was one of the greatest dangers, were also suggested by the monk, allegedly as the result of a "vision." He sought to restrain both the Czarina and

Goremykin, President of the Council of Ministers, from follies which they were about to commit in retaliation for attacks upon himself. His maleficent influence, however, is everywhere perceptible in these letters. They allow one to reconstruct the mental atmosphere of a Court in which Ministers employed spies on each other, and curried favor by a revolting sycophancy to an immoral charlatan, while honest men, like the Grand Duke, looked on, sickened, and malodorous scandals circulated among the people.

#### THE CZARINA'S SUPERSTITION

The amazing superstitiousness of the Czarina, on which Rasputin skillfully played, comes out again and again. But, to her, religion was only the hand-maiden of autocracy. Devout sentiments did not prevent her passionate resentment against the Holy Synod for its attacks upon Rasputin, which, to her mind, were equivalent to attacks upon



the Czar and herself. Her religious beliefs were otherwise mediaeval. She believed in charms and warnings against evil. In the critical month of August, 1915, she writes to the Emperor, then at the front:

Remember to comb your hair before all difficult talks and decisions; the little comb will bring its help.

A bell received by her from the monk Ilidor gave her—she thought—the power of distinguishing friends from potential foes. "Prayer belts" given by her to officers going to the front would, she believed, prevent them from being killed. She sent huge quantities of ikons (sacred images) to the front, to Generals, as well as to soldiers. In one letter to the Czar she writes:

Please give this little Image of Ioann the Warrior to Alexeiev (the Russian Chief of Staff) with my blessing and fervent wishes. You have my Image I blessed you with last year. I give you no other, as that carries my blessings, and you have Gr.'s [Grigori's, meaning Rasputin's] St. Nicholas to guard and guide you.

She had a peasant woman's belief in the efficacy of candles:

The children and I went to church at 3¼, and I placed a very big candle which will burn very long and carry my prayers to God's throne for you—before the Virgin and St. Nicholas.

#### BELIEF IN AUTOCRACY

These letters reveal the Czarina's unalterable belief that autocracy is a divine right. The autocrat was only a lesser potentate than God, to whom he owed responsibility. The autocracy, according to God's desire, must be kept intact. Any yielding in the direction of constitutional reform was a sin. Referring to a deputation of public men, she writes:

Am so glad you declined seeing those creatures. They don't dare use the word Constitution, but they go sneaking round it—verily it would be the ruin of Russia, and against your coronation oath, it seems to me, as you are a *Samoderzhets* (autocrat), thank God.

Holding this belief in autocracy's quasi-divinity, she believed that to others it was quite as sacred, and begged the Czar to show himself to the troops at the front, as this would bring them an

incomparable consolation. Yet she strove almost hysterically to make the Czar a real autocrat, as she understood it. "You are Lord and Master in Russia, remember that." Again:

Courage, energy, firmness will be re-



LATE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA

*Portrait taken just before the outbreak of the war*

warded by success. You remember what He (Rasputin) said, that the glory of your reign is coming, and we shall fight for it together, as it means the glory of Russia—you and Russia are one. \* \* \* God will help. Be firm and energetic—right and left, shake and wake all up, and smack firmly when necessary. One must not only love you, but be afraid of you; then all will go well.

This was written on Sept. 3. Six days later she wrote:

Go on being energetic. \* \* \* Now is the fight to show them who you are, and that you have had enough. You tried with kindness, but that did not take; now

you will show them the contrary, the Master Will.

In another letter she asks him when he will thump on the table and scream at his opponents. But Czar Nicholas was no Peter the Great, and could not be given the iron which his shrinking character lacked, and which the Czarina, far more than himself, possessed. Not only the Czar's weakness, but that of many others—Ministers, Generals, manufacturers—exasperated her. She was ashamed of the disorder in Russia, declared that "all men seemed to wear petticoats," expressed her longing "to thrash nearly all the Ministers." When Bulgaria joined Germany, she wrote: "My personal opinion is that our diplomats ought to be hung."

#### HATRED FOR DEMOCRACY

The fight against democracy was to the Czarina the fight of St. George against the Dragon. With sharp and acrid comments she sought to transmit this hatred to the Czar. She raged against the elected members of the Council of State and against the project of making Ministers responsible to the Duma. On this subject she expresses her views as follows:

Certainly not a Minister who answers before the Duma, as they want; we are not ripe for it, would be Russia's ruin—we are not a constitutional country, and dare not be it; our people are not educated for it; and, thank God, our Emperor is a *Samoderzhets* and must stick to this as you do, only you must show more power and decision. \* \* \* Goremykin hopes you won't receive Rodzianko. Could one but get another instead of him, an energetic good man in his place would keep the Duma in order.

Every democratic institution seems aimed at her priestly protégé, Rasputin, and through him at the autocracy. "The Petrograd Town Duma needs smacking." "I have no patience with these meddlesome chatterboxes." She exults at the dispersal of the Duma, and insists that energetic measures must be taken when it reassembles "to prevent it doing harm." The sessions of the Duma leave her no peace:

Won't the Duma be shut at last—why need you be here for that? How the fools speak against the military censors shows how necessary (to close it). \* \* \* Only

shut the Duma quickly before these questions come out. \* \* \* Now the members of the Duma want to meet in Moscow. One ought energetically to forbid it, it will only bring great disorders. If they do that one ought to say that the Duma will then not be reopened till much later—threaten them as they try to threaten the Ministers and the Government. Moscow will be worse than here; one must be severe. Oh, could not one hang Gutchkov! You cannot imagine what a joyful surprise it was to receive your sweet letter.

#### CZARINA AND GRAND DUKE

The Czarina's hatred for the Grand Duke Nicholas was largely conditioned by his hostility to Rasputin. The Grand Duke, disgusted by the scandal attached to the priest's power at Court, used his influence in favor of all who sought to expose him and his depravities. The Czarina also disliked the Grand Duke for his strength of character, in sharp contrast to that of the Emperor, and suspected him of being a pretender to the throne. In her letters to the Czar she sought ceaselessly to stir him up against the Grand Duke upon this score. She was unwearying in insinuations against him. A typical example was the retailing of a rumor that 1,000 portraits of the Grand Duke had been distributed before the door of the Kazan Cathedral. On this ground, mainly, she and Rasputin insisted on the Grand Duke's dismissal from his post as Commander in Chief of the Russian Army. Persistent dropping wears away stone. The Czar at last yielded and the Grand Duke was dismissed. Not content with this, the Czarina insisted that her husband should order the Grand Duke south without delay:

Lovv, order him south quicker: all sorts of bad elements are collecting round him and want to use him as their flag. (God forbid.) But it's safer that he should be quicker in the Caucasus. You said ten days, and tomorrow it's three weeks since he left the staff. Be firm in that, too, please.

To strengthen the Czar's determination, she tells him that people already call the Grand Duke "Nicholas III." The Grand Duke is packed off and the Czarina has proved herself to be one of the great disintegrating influences of the Russian Army.

## FEUD WITH THE HOLY SYNOD

The letters also show in some detail the bitterness of the feud between the Czarina and the Holy Synod, caused, like so many others of the Czarina's hatreds, by hostility to "the Man of God." The Procurator General of the Synod, Samarin, had been appointed by mistake, that is, while the Czar was away from the Czarina's influence. A public-spirited man, Samarin and some of the honestest Bishops fought against the malign power of Rasputin, whom they had pledged themselves, if possible, to expose and drive away. But the Czarina's influence was too strong; Samarin was ousted, and less scrupulous ecclesiastics, disposed to favor Rasputin, were found to take his and his supporters' places. The Czarina's conviction that all who opposed Rasputin were wicked and guilty of *lèse majesté* comes out in one passage: "We must clear out S., and the sooner the better. He won't be quiet until he gets me and our Friend and A.\* in a mess—it is so wicked and hideously unpatriotic and narrow-minded." She reports indignantly to the Czar that Samarin dared to question Rasputin regarding a ritual detail ordered by the Czar and supported by Varnava, Bishop of Tobolsk, Rasputin's creature. \* \* \* "Such cross-examination is unheard of, and he spoke so meanly about Gr., using vile words in speaking of Him." She urges the Czar to set his broom to working to clear out the Synod, spurring him on as follows:

They betted in the Duma that they would prevent you from going to the war—you did go. They said nobody dare close the Duma—you did. Now they have betted that you cannot send S. away, and you will, and the Bishops, too, that sat there and mocked at your orders.

Fanatic, convinced, ceaselessly per-

\*Anna Vyubova, Rasputin's introducer at the Court, his creature and go-between.

sistent, determined to have her own way, domineering and hysterical, the Czarina, as the letters show, was more than a match in every respect for the weak and vacillating Czar. There is something like mania in these letters, the frenzy of an unsettled mind, obsessed by the sinister priest whose name appears everywhere in them like a sombre litany. There is something horrible in these intimate outpourings of one who came to a tragic end. One feels in them the power of Fate, drawing these souls of earthly rulers, shrunk to the size of puppets, on a gigantic torrent, sweeping at terrific speed toward the final cataract.

There is something pitiful, after all, in the impression one gains of this hysterical, deluded woman, groping her way through the darkness of the Russian labyrinth, lighted by the flame of altar candles, obsessed by constant fear, already horrified in advance by the catastrophe which her woman's instinct leads her to foresee, struggling frenziedly to avoid it, and, when alone, weeping out her anguish in the mournful solitude of her great palace. A disrupting and dangerous influence, urging the Czar on from one folly to another, she was yet capable of writing a letter like this, sent on New Years Day:

My Own Sweetheart: This is the last time that I write to you in the year 1915. From the depths of my heart and soul I pray God Almighty to bless 1916, quite particularly for you and our beloved country. May He crown all our undertakings with success, recompense the troops for their bravery, send victory to us, show our enemies of what we are capable. The sun shone five minutes before you left—I have noticed it each time you left. And, as our Friend says we should always pay attention to the weather, I trust that, forsooth, it is a good augury. And for internal calm—to crush those effervescing elements which try to ruin the country and give you endless worry, I prayed last night till I thought my soul would burst, and cried my eyes out.





# Murder of the Imperial Russian Family

## Complete Story at Last Told

THE complete story of the assassination of the Czar and his whole family has at last been told by the recent publication of a number of important documents embodying several long-continued and exhaustive investigations of independent investigators, the evidence of numerous witnesses directly or indirectly connected with the crime, and the official statements of the Soviet Government reporting the alleged punishment of the murderers. All these various reports and investigations are mutually confirmatory, and, taken together, admit no reasonable doubt of the truth of the story of persecution and wholesale slaughter which they reveal. This story throws a strong light on the sombre and obscure drama around which had collected a mass of falsehood and tendentious garblings by the Bolsheviki or their opponents.

The whole controversy was started by the official statement issued by the Moscow Government on July 20, 1918—four days after the reported murder of the Czar in the Ural City of Ekaterinburg—which admitted that the Czar had been “executed,” justified his slaying on the ground of necessity, and categorically affirmed that the ex-Empress and her children had been spared and had been conveyed out of the city. This statement at first prevented further investigation.

Little by little, however, a mass of evidence accumulated to prove that the official statement was false and that the whole imperial family had been murdered in cold blood at the same time and in the same place. In its own time the British Foreign Office published in one of its White Papers a report to this effect by General Alfred Knox, which caused a certain amount of doubt in England by its insistence on the preponderant rôle played in the crime by Russian Jews. The report on the same subject by Sir Charles Eliot, then High Commissioner in Siberia, was for some reason never given publication. This led to an interesting exchange of letters between

the British Foreign Office and Mr. Lucien Wolf, Secretary of the Joint Foreign Committee of British Jews. This correspondence revealed the existence of two important documents, one an official report made by the order of M. Starinkevitch, Minister of Justice in the Government of Admiral Kolchak, the other an abbreviated report of the Bolshevik Court of Inquiry alleged to have been held in Perm in 1919 to determine the circumstances of the murder. Both documents were extracted from the correspondence referred to and published by The London Daily Telegraph on Aug. 18, 1920.

### SOKOLOV'S INVESTIGATION

In addition to the first report, which was signed by the Procureur of the High Court of Kazan; another and a much more exhaustive investigation was conducted by Nicholas Alexeievitch Sokolov, an investigating Magistrate specially appointed by the Supreme All-Russian ruler, Kolchak, whose findings, constituting a formidable dossier, represented the relentless investigation of many months. In this investigation he was assisted by General Diedrichs, commander of the Czechoslovak troops recently repatriated from Siberia. A special correspondent of The London Times, in a series of articles which began on Aug. 19, 1920, describes his meeting of both General Diedrichs and Sokolov in Siberia and his participation in the investigations.

After the revolution Diedrichs had piloted the Czechs to Siberia, and had then taken charge of the Ural front. Superseded by inferior leaders, he was devoting himself in March, 1919, to the investigation of the *Tsarskoe delo* (the Czar case). Subsequently he was recalled as Commander in Chief of the armies then fighting the Reds with British and allied assistance. Realizing, however, the enormous importance of the Czar case, he continued to follow it after he again assumed command of the anti-



Bolshevist troops, and even after the Kolchak débâcle he never ceased his activities, thanks to which much had been accomplished before the Reds, having recaptured the Urals, could obliterate all evidences of the crimes committed there. His own report of the case, as published by the *Revue des deux Mondes*, is given at the end of this article. Its details were confirmed by the dossier of M. Sokolov, which was intrusted to the correspondent of *The Times* after the fall of Omsk, and left in his discretion to make public in whole or in part.

Sokolov himself took this correspondent over the scene of the crime, which he traced and proved step by step, from the first wholesale murder of the whole royal family to the disposal of their bodies in a nearby district. Sokolov's vicissitudes in the course of his investigations were many. Fleeing from the Reds, he had crossed into Siberia disguised as a peasant, walking the last twenty-five miles foodless, his feet a mass of sores and blisters. An ardent sportsman, one of his eyes had been destroyed by the carelessness of a companion. He had made a name for himself as a criminal prosecutor. In the investigation of the Czar case, which called for courage and skill of the highest order, he never flinched or wavered. Thanks to him, says *The Times* correspondent, an overwhelming mass of evidence has been built up into a structure that cannot be overthrown.

When the fall of Omsk was imminent, Sokolov departed eastward, taking with him all the documents he had accumulated. In company with General Diedrichs, in despair over Kolchak's refusal to evacuate Omsk in time to save countless lives, including his own, *The Times* correspondent journeyed to Eastern Siberia. They found Sokolov at Chita, where he was persecuted by the Ataman Semenov, who, for reasons of his own, was hostile to the proofs of the assassination of the royal family which Sokolov was preparing. After many adventures and hardships, Sokolov reached Harbin, where General Diedrichs and the correspondent caught up with him again.

The ultimate fate of the dossier was

there decided. Sokolov was surrounded by hostile or doubtful organizations. It would have been hazardous to leave the documents behind, taking only copies. It was then decided to place the dossier in the car of *The Times* correspondent, which had the protection of the British flag. In this way it was finally spirited away, and remained in the possession of the correspondent, who analyzes its main findings in the articles referred to.

#### ALL TELL THE SAME STORY

Between the reports of the Procureur of Kazan to the Kolchak Minister of Justice, the report of General Diedrichs, published in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, and the findings of the Sokolov dossier, left in the hands of *The Times* correspondent, there is no essential difference. They all tell the same story of the transfer of the Czar and certain of his attendants from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg, in the Urals, the joining of them there by the Czarina, with the Czarevitch and other members of the royal family left behind because of the temporary illness of the Czarevitch; the murder of the whole royal family in a room of the Ekaterinburg house under the immediate direction of one Jurovsky; the disposal of the bodies in a mining shaft near a village in the Upper Tsetschaya Canton, within eighteen versts (twelve miles) of Ekaterinburg.

In the first report, the examination of the Ipatiev house is described in detail, and all the evidences of the crime, despite attempts at obliteration, are testified to by the examining magistrate. The finding of jewels and many other pieces of personal property, including remains of garments, teeth, ornaments, &c., in the mining shaft, where the bodies were thrown, or buried in the ground, is similarly attested. A number of these objects were identified by the witness, Peter Gillard, who had been teacher of the French language at the Court. Some 100 other articles belonging to members of the royal family were seized from a Red soldier, who, on examination, confirmed the whole story of the massacre as it was told to him by the Bolshevist sentry who had stood

guard that night before the Ipatiev house. A number of other witnesses deposed, giving further evidence of the use of motor trucks to take the bodies away, and the return of one covered with blood and dirt, and of conversations overheard between participants of the crime declaring that Professor Botkin, one of the imperial party, was the thirteenth victim.

#### THE ALLEGED TRIAL

The trial of the murderers alleged to have been carried out by the House of the Executive Committee of the Soviets at Perm on Sept. 17, 1919, was reported by the official Bolshevik journal Pravda as follows:

The Revolutionary Tribunal have considered the case of the murder of the late Czar Nicholas Romanoff, his wife, the Princess of Hesse, their daughters Olga, Maria and Anastasia, and their suite. In all eleven persons were assassinated. Of the twenty-eight persons accused three were members of the Ekaterinburg Soviet—Grusinoff, Yakhontoff and Malutin; among the accused were also two women, Maria Afraksina and Elsaveta Mironova. The account of the murder, as gathered from the material under the consideration of the Revolutionary Tribunal, is as follows:

The Czar and all the members of his entourage were shot—no mockery and no cruelties took place. Yakhontoff admitted that he had organized the murder in order to throw the discredit of the crime on the Soviet authorities, whose adversary he became after having joined the Socialist Revolutionaries of the Left Wing. The plan of murdering the Czar was conceived during the latter's stay at Tobolsk, but the Czar was too strictly watched. In Ekaterinburg, when the Czechoslovak troops were approaching the town, the Soviet authorities were panic-stricken to such a degree that it was easy for him to avail himself of his position as Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission (for combating counter-revolution) and to give the order to murder the Czar and his family. Yakhontoff admitted that he personally participated in the murder, and that he took upon himself the responsibility for it. He, however, said that he was not responsible for the robbery of the belongings of the Czar's family. According to his deposition, Czar Nicholas said before he died, "for the murder of the Czar Russia will curse the Bolsheviks."

Grusinoff and Malutin stated that they did not know anything about Yakhon-

toff's plans, and only carried out his orders. Yakhontoff was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. Grusinoff, Malutin, Afraksina and Mironova were found guilty of robbery committed on the murdered members of the Czar's family. They were sentenced to death, too. The death sentence was carried out the following day.

#### GENERAL DIEDRICHS'S REPORT

The results of the investigation by General Diedrichs were published in a recent issue of the *Revue des deux Mondes*. After examining more than a thousand documents, talking with priests who were members of the imperial family in their last days, and receiving the testimony of the widow of one of the murderers, General Diedrichs came to the conclusion that Nicholas and his family were brutally murdered at Ekaterinburg. The story, as told by the Czech commander, confirms in its main lines the account of the tragic end of the Czar, the Czarina, the Czarevitch and the Grand Duchesses, given by the other documents analyzed in the present article. This report is given in abbreviated form herewith:

The imperial family was imprisoned in Tobolsk, where it had been kept confined since its departure from Tsarskoe Selo. An order was received to transport the royal prisoners to Ekaterinburg, in the Urals, for greater safety. A first party, consisting of the Czar, Marie Nikolaevna (third of the four Grand Duchesses), Dr. Botkin, Prince Dolgorukov, Countess Henrikov, Serined (the Czar's valet), and a maid, Demiedova, left for Ekaterinburg on April 26. The Czarina, with three of the Grand Duchesses and several persons attached to the family, remained in Tobolsk to care for the Czarevitch, who was quite ill. She and her party did not reach Ekaterinburg until May 10. The united family were imprisoned in the Epatiev house, and rigorously guarded by thirty-six men taken from a neighboring factory. Of nineteen other factory guards, ten were released criminals. At first the imperial prisoners were not badly treated, but with the arrival of one Jurovsky, with two aids and a detachment of Letts, they were subjected to

great rigor, and were forced to listen to expressions of hatred from the Lettish Guard. One Avdeiev, in charge of the inner guard, was replaced by Jurovsky and his Letts. Life became a continual agony for the prisoners; religious exercises, their sole consolation, were prohibited.

#### THE EXECUTION

On the night of July 15-16, at 2 o'clock in the morning, Jurovsky, with five of the most important deputies of the Soviets, went to the Czar's rooms and read to the imperial family its death warrant. The Czar answered, "I am ready." The Czarina, the Grand Duchess Olga, and Dr. Botkin made the sign of the cross. The three other Grand Duchesses fainted. Jurovsky fired the first shot from his revolver, which killed the Czar where he stood. Then began the butchery of the entire family, which was executed by revolver and gunshot, the butts of guns and bayonet stabs. All the Bolshevik party took part in it, including an assistant of Jurovsky, Paul Medvediev, who died of heart disease three days later, after telling the story to his wife. Two of the guards also recounted the murder to their families. All bloodstains and other traces were removed.

At 6 o'clock in the morning the bodies were taken on an automobile camion to a place twenty kilometers from Ekaterinburg, where they were searched, stripped of all their clothing and burned. Unmistakable traces of the crime were found subsequently at this spot. The burning of papers in the Epatiev house was done so hastily that the bottom sheets were left untouched, and from these the names of all the guards who took part in the murder, except those of the Letts, were learned.

The day after the murder a telegram

was sent to Alapaevka ordering the execution of the imperial prisoners in that city. This order was at once executed, and the Grand Duchess Elizabeth Fedorovna, sister of the Empress, the Grand Duke Serge Mikhailovitch, the



M. KALENIN

*Intellectual leader, who constantly tours Russia speaking for Communism*  
(Keystone View Co.)

three sons of Grand Duke Constantin, and his butler met a similar fate. The corpses were thrown into a mine pit. They have all been identified. General Diedrichs testifies to the absolute accuracy of the facts given. The Bolsheviks, he declared, were doing everything to suspend the judgment of public opinion.



ADMIRAL KOLCHAK (SECOND FROM THE LEFT) AS HE APPEARED IN JUNE, 1919. THE MAN WITH THE LONG, WHITE BEARD IS GENERAL HORVATH, DIRECTOR IN CHIEF OF THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY. AT THE LEFT END, MR. V. O. KLEMM, KOLCHAK'S ENVOY AT VLADIVOSTOK; AT THE RIGHT END, MR. L. A. OSTRUGOV, KOLCHAK'S MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS

[FINAL INSTALLMENT]

## RUSSIA'S AGONY

**Eyewitness Narrative of the Crisis in Which Kolchak Fell and Bolshevism Triumphed—Documented Story of His Execution**

BY A FORMER MEMBER OF KOLCHAK'S STAFF

*This is the last of three articles revealing the inside history of the fall of the Omsk Government and the retreat that ended in Kolchak's tragic death. The previous installments told of the flight to Irkutsk, the sufferings of the refugees, the typhus scourge, and the remarkable escape of the author through the aid of American Red Cross workers. In this issue appears the detailed narrative of Kolchak's betrayal and execution. CURRENT HISTORY obtained these articles through the British Legation at Peking, whither the writer made his way after the disaster.*

THE news of Admiral Kolchak's murder—no other word describes his summary execution, since the accused was furnished with no charge and permitted to make no defense—roused bitter resentment in every man with any instincts of fairness or justice. Measured by his last achievements, Kolchak was a failure. Yet long after his mistakes are forgotten he will be remembered as a disinterested patriot and a martyr whose just fame rises higher the more we appreciate the difficulties he had to meet and the honesty and courage with which he met them.

Below middle height, like most of the best Russian fighting commanders, Kolchak was a thin and graceful figure with the fine sharp profile of some old Roman

cameo, clean shaven and sunbronzed from distant seas—the true type of a sailor, save for his soft voice, with its pleasant, penetrating timbre, and his small, energetic hands, inherited, perhaps, from his Turkish great-grandfather, Kolchak Pasha who defended Erzerum against the Generals of Nicholas I.

A very marked vertical line down the forehead and between the heavy eyebrows sometimes gave a grim, hard expression to the Admiral's face when in repose. At first sight I judged him stern. But the counteracting influence of his large, dark eyes, very melancholy and typically Russian, and an exceptionally charming, soft, almost childish smile soon dispelled this impression.



The better one knew him the more one appreciated his many noble and amiable qualities—his simple dignity and quiet decision, his total lack of personal ambition and his intensely lovable humaneness. When he made a speech it was clear, straightforward and sensible in tone, reflecting the mentality not only of the strong leader but of the sound scholar.

#### KOLCHAK'S FIRST PROCLAMATION

His first proclamation, issued when he assumed the powers of Dictator, may be quoted as an example:

*To the People of Russia:*

On Nov. 18, 1918, the Provisional Russian Government was disrupted. The Council of Ministers assumed full powers and transmitted them to me, Alexander Kolchak, Admiral of the Russian fleet. Having taken up the burden of this power in the exceptionally difficult conditions of civil war and complete disorganization of the life of the State, I declare I will neither follow the way of reaction nor the fatal road of party strife. My chief objects will be the constitution of an army able to fight, the vanquishing of Bolshevism and the establishment of legal order, so that the people may without hindrance choose the form of government they desire and realize the great ideal of liberty which has now been proclaimed to the world. I call you citizens to union, to strife against Bolshevism, to labor and sacrifices.

The choice of Kolchak for the post of supreme ruler was largely influenced by his fine record. Even in his early days at the Naval Academy he showed not only exceptional strength of character and purpose but such a love and aptitude for his chosen profession that he was graduated with distinction.

His first cruise abroad was to Far Eastern and Chinese waters on the Rurik. This lasted four years. In 1899 he returned to Russia, whence he intended to set out again for another tour of duty in the Orient. Meanwhile he received an invitation from Baron Toll to join the latter's memorable Arctic expedition, the keen eye of the explorer having already marked the talents of the young naval officer, who had lately published the results of some fine work in oceanography.

Though Kolchak's personal desire was

to continue the old Russian discoveries in the Antarctic, he nevertheless joined Toll's party, which started in 1901 for the frozen north. Unfavorable ice conditions cut off the explorer from his companions. Without delay Kolchak set off to the rescue. The venture might well have daunted the bravest spirit; again and again he and his men found themselves in a painfully anxious situation, whether living miserably on desolate shores waiting for milder weather to open the polar seas or cutting their way in an open whaleboat through drifting ice. In spite of all their efforts, Toll was never found, but Kolchak had the satisfaction of bringing his party safely home to Petrograd, where the Russian Geographical Society publicly thanked him for his services and awarded him a large gold medal—a distinction which had been conferred only on three other persons.

Soon afterward the Russo-Japanese war broke out and Kolchak left for Port Arthur. He was then only 25 years old, but already he had found time to specialize in mines and mine-laying. The new emergency served to develop his powers, and success rewarded his expert knowledge when one of his mines, laid under great difficulty, blew up the Japanese cruiser Takasaka.

#### PREDICTED GERMAN WAR

After the Portsmouth Treaty, Kolchak entered the Naval General Staff, where he worked on plans for the reconstruction of the Russian fleet. Even then he predicted the struggle with Germany and the necessity of making preparations for it. People laughed at him. Nevertheless, he stuck to his opinions, and, as early as 1907, announced the beginning of the great war for 1915. The prediction was but too true. As events proved, he was only six months out in his calculations.

Hopeless of convincing a Government resolutely blind to the coming danger, and feeling no reforms possible under the circumstances, Kolchak again turned his attention to the Arctic. We find him there, in 1909, working on an ice-breaker of his own design. Meanwhile,

a sudden change of policy took place at home. The state of affairs in Europe had become so alarming that his colleagues decided to take his advice with regard to naval preparedness. They, accordingly, sent for him to come back. He returned—to play an important part in the scheme of reorganization, which later made possible the brilliant operations in the Baltic. Thanks to him the Baltic fleet was in a high state of efficiency. Thanks to him, also, the Russians were able successfully to defend the Riga sector, which the Germans penetrated only after it was under the Bolsheviks.

When Kolchak went back to sea in 1913, the oldest Admirals were not above consulting their brilliant junior. A Flag Captain by the outbreak of war, he took a distinguished part in many engagements. Then, reverting to his old specialty, he began mine-laying near enemy shores. Even the Germans admitted the skill and daring with which, in 1915, he brought a cruiser outside Kiel and dropped heavy mines. While they hunted for the submarine that had wrought havoc among their ships, loath, at first, to believe that any hostile craft could be piloted with such skill and audacity into their inland waters, Kolchak was safely steaming to a home port.

#### WITH BLACK SEA FLEET

The well-earned reward for his exploits was the title of Vice Admiral and the post of Commander in Chief of the Black Sea Fleet. On taking over his new command he was met at the station of Sebastopol with great ceremony and asked when he would review the squadron. "In half an hour," was the characteristic reply. Avoiding all the celebrations prepared for his arrival, he proceeded direct to the flagship, and at the appointed time the order "Put to Sea" was signaled. The smart staff officers had scarcely time to change their full-dress uniforms before the battleships were steaming toward the Anatolian shore.

The success of Kolchak's operations was such as might have been expected from their vigor. The Black Sea was

soon cleared of submarines, and Russian ships plied on it as safely as though it were a Russian lake. The raids of the Goeben and Breslau ceased. The mouth of the Bosphorus was closed by mines, while Turkish transports were sunk with clockwork regularity.

Kolchak also rendered one signal service to the Allies of which the public has never heard. There may be a few people who remember that the German cruiser Magdeburg ran aground on an island in the Baltic, and, after a fine defense, was captured by the Russians. The incident created little interest at a time when all eyes were focused on the land campaign, but it was fraught with immense importance. Divers sent down by Kolchak's orders to examine the wreck brought up the dead body of a German officer, evidently blown off the bridge by a shell. The corpse still had a canvas bag tied round the neck, and this bag contained all the German naval codes.

It is impossible to estimate the assistance these ciphers proved to Kolchak's fleet in their subsequent operations, and later, when they were communicated to the British, they should have led to overwhelming allied naval victories, for not a German ship could leave port without her destination being instantly known. Had the British Navy only been in first-class condition—as Admiral Jellicoe's book proves that it was not—every German venture on the seas would have been foredoomed to failure. Unfortunately, a lack of essential fighting materials, such as heavy shells, mine sweepers, &c., prevented the English from taking full advantage of the secret so cleverly discovered.

#### WHEN HE FLUNG HIS SWORD INTO THE SEA

The offensive tactics of Kolchak were destined to end with the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917, which shattered his dream of effecting a landing on the shores of the Bosphorus to capture Constantinople. But, in spite of the famous "Order No. 1"—the so-called "Declaration of Soldiers' Rights"—he managed to maintain discipline in his command, and even some measure of

personal popularity, long after all the other Russian forces, including the Baltic fleet, were falling to pieces. His appeal to the Government for permission to suppress the dangerous propagandists who were pouring into Sebastopol was refused on the ground that a liberal régime could not allow such measures.

Kolchak, in consequence, resigned, but his resignation was not accepted. He remained to see the day in June, 1917, when the Germano-Bolshevist poison had so tainted his fleet that the sailors demanded the disarmament of their officers. To avoid useless butchery, he ordered his subordinates to comply. Then, summoning his crews, he made a speech to the men, in which he gave full vent to his anger. It aroused much emotion among the sailors. Many wept with shame. Some protested that they had been misled by treacherous demagogues, others that they had no intention of showing lack of confidence in their Admiral.

But Kolchak was not deceived. He knew that the long-slumbering upheaval must burst. It might be delayed; it could not be averted. With great dignity he answered that he had no wish to command a fleet so lost to all notions of discipline. "But you will not receive my arms," he said, and with a noble and disdainful gesture he flung his sword of honor, earned at Port Arthur, into the sea.

Ashore, a reign of terror had already begun. Bolshevik crowds roamed through the port, spreading disorder and anarchy. Yet Kolchak remained for several days at Admiralty House without a guard, and so great was his personal prestige that none dared molest him. An order from Kerensky soon recalled him to Petrograd to answer for the disorganization of the Black Sea fleet. His defense was a bold criticism before the Council of Ministers of the dangerous channel into which they had directed the tide of revolution. So great an impression did his calm judgments, given with unselfish honesty, produce that his detractors were silenced. At this crisis, had he wished, he might have taken an important place in politics. His

friends even urged him in July to overthrow Kerensky and play the part that Kornilov later played. This he declined, saying: "My duty is the duty of a soldier."

#### FEARED BY KERENSKY

Henceforward Kerensky, hearing of the suggested coup d'état, feared Kolchak's rivalry, and was only too glad to give his consent to the American mission then in Petrograd when they asked for the loan of Kolchak's services to the United States. He did valuable work with the American naval staff, principally in connection with mines and submarine destroyers, on both of which he was perhaps the best living expert.

His task completed, he went to Japan, where he learned of the constitution of the Lenin Government and the peace of Brest-Litovsk. He could recognize neither. As an Admiral of the Russian fleet he still considered himself bound by honor and duty to uphold his country's engagements with her allies in the war against Germany. Cut off from service at home, he therefore offered himself to her partners in that great enterprise, and through the British Embassy in Tokio obtained a commission on the Mesopotamian front.

Kolchak had already started for his new post—was, in fact, at Singapore—when he was recalled by a telegram to head a movement for the maintenance of the Russian cause in the Far East and to take command of the Russian troops on the Chinese Eastern Railway. But he soon found that position impossible. The veiled hostility of General Horvath, accustomed to supremacy; the disobedience of Semenov, and the difficulties made for him by the Japanese forced his resignation.

#### HEAD OF THE OMSK GOVERNMENT

He retired to Tokio—to rest. There news of Denikin's efforts to organize in South Russia broke in upon his solitude. It was a new call to arms—one he could not resist. With the hope of joining his fellow-patriot, the Admiral returned to Siberia unofficially. He was immediately offered, and accepted, the portfolio of



Minister of War at Omsk under the Siberian Provisional Government.

Those were the days when a struggle for supremacy was going on between this newly formed Government and the "Ufa Directory of Five." By a clever stroke of diplomacy the Siberian Provisional Government invited its rivals to come to Omsk. With foolish lack of foresight they came. The two groups continued their functions side by side in competition for about a month. Then, on the night of Nov. 18, a coup d'état dissolved the Ufa Directory (whose members were arrested and sent out of Russia) and appointed Kolchak supreme ruler, with a Cabinet of Ministers. Kolchak was away at the time inspecting the armies at the front in his capacity of War Minister—proof positive that he made no efforts and fostered no intrigues to secure the position. The honor was unexpected. His own words prove that it was almost unwelcome. In accepting it he declared that he only bowed to the unanimous wish of the Government, while to his intimates he remarked: "My conception of the task before me is that of a heavy burden to be borne for the sake of my country." Whatever his faults, Kolchak proved by actions as well as words that he was free from the ugly taint of personal ambition or lust for power.

#### CAUSES OF HIS DOWNFALL

The story of his régime in Siberia, from November, 1918, to December, 1919, is already a matter of history. Quite fearless and unselfish, the Admiral manfully staked his reputation and his life for its success. It failed and he paid the supreme penalty. None can deny that there were grievous abuses in the Government, abuses more than sufficient to justify some opposition. For these abuses the men around him prescribed inefficient and pernicious remedies instead of instituting definite reforms which might have aided his work of reconstruction and brought the Government into harmony with the people. So far as Kolchak himself was concerned, he sacrificed none of those high ideals which he personally brought to

his mission and which he kept unspotted to the last. But he had two faults fatal in a statesman—a lack of intuition in choosing his subordinates and a tendency, due to his natural dislike of appearing to arrogate too much power to himself, to stand aside and let those subordinates direct affairs.

This proved his undoing. The day which dawned so brightly with the rapid advance of his armies across the Urals far into European Russia—with the support of Siberia enabling him to raise 200,000 men and issue 12,000,000,000 rubles' worth of banknotes, and the help of the Allies, who were so near recognizing his Government—clouded ominously by the Autumn of 1919.

#### ESCAPE FROM OMSK

After having momentarily checked the Red invasion on the river Tobol, his troops were obliged to evacuate Omsk, the capital, which, against the better judgment of some of the Generals, it had been decided to hold to the last. The city, however, proved impossible to defend. Of course, indescribable chaos resulted from this sudden change of plan. The pouring of thousands of soldiers across the one Irtysh bridge and their retreat through a crowded city whose population had risen from 100,000 to over half a million in a few months caused a panic among the civilians, hundreds of whom were soon struggling to get away. The trains prepared for the evacuation congested the station yards. Some idea of the magnitude of the disaster may be gained from the fact that the Bolsheviki, when they reached Novo-Nikolaievsk (beyond Omsk) found many of these trains standing hopelessly blocked in a solid line ninety miles long, with the water in the engines frozen because they could not be moved off in time.

In the midst of this confusion Kolchak managed to get away from Omsk on the night of Nov. 12 with six passenger trains escorted by an armored train. He took with him some members of his staff, his personal bodyguard and the gold reserve of over \$200,000,000. A serious accident caused by a collision



held him up, first at Tatarskaia and then at Novo-Nikolaievsk, which latter town he planned to defend and failed. To hold together defeated troops in such circumstances was a task beyond his military genius—perhaps beyond the genius of any soldier.

On Dec. 4 Kolchak left Novo-Nikolaievsk. His situation was singularly unfortunate. Beaten by his enemies, he was now betrayed by his friends, the Czechs. Not only did the latter insist on right of way for their own trains, though the unhappy fugitive had reasons for haste they could not claim, but they stopped him at almost every station, commandeered his engines for their purposes and once disarmed his guard.

The Czechs, having lost all hope of breaking through into Czechoslovakia, had at this juncture but one idea—to get away via the east before they came in contact with the Bolshevik armies. Their worldly wisdom, stronger than their sense of honor, was proved (though not excused) by what happened afterward to the Poles, who, overtaken by the Bolsheviks during their belated retreat (which the Czechs hindered by the same game of commandeering trains), were cut to pieces.

#### THE ADMIRAL'S IMPRISONMENT

Kolchak entered into long pourparlers with the allied High Commissioners, but their interference was so slow and half-hearted that he only managed to reach the station of Nijni-Udinsk on Dec. 28, shorn of four of his trains and most of his guards. At Nijni-Udinsk he was advised to remain for a time—advised in a manner which admitted of no free choice on his part. Czech guards surrounded his cars, and, though his detention was called by a soft name, he and his staff were practically prisoners.

The townsfolk were still faithful to Kolchak, even in the midst of that deferred hope which makes the heart sick, until three days after his arrival, when the Social Revolutionaries from Irkutsk took over authority. These people, with the connivance of the Czechs, spread their propaganda even to his own convey. Every day that passed weakened

his supporters. Then Kolchak, as a result of his negotiations with General Janin, dismissed his bodyguard and moved into a car in one of the Czech trains with a few faithful adherents, including the President of the Council of Ministers, Pepelaiev, while the Czechs and the Social Revolutionaries together took over his treasure and his trains.

On Jan. 7 Kolchak left Nijni-Udinsk for Irkutsk and got as far as the Inno-kentievskaja (Innocent) Station, the last stop before the big town. He was constantly under strict guard, and relatives who came to meet his officers were allowed only a short interview before the train was hurried on to Irkutsk. Even at this late hour, when the net of fate was tightly closing around him, Kolchak might, perhaps, have saved himself had he been willing to abandon his staff; but, to his lasting credit, he refused, well knowing that this would mean delivering forty-two officers over to butchery.

A memorable meeting took place while the car stood in Irkutsk Station. Here delegates of the Social Revolutionaries informed the Admiral that the Allies, meaning the Czechs, had decided to give him into their charge. It was delivering up a helpless man to be murdered, and he knew it; yet he received the news with the quiet fortitude of a brave man who encounters a calamity for which he knows there is no remedy. All he said was, "So the foreigners have decided to betray me. I am at your disposal."

A bystander testifies that when Kolchak had been formally arrested and disarmed he left the train with great coolness and dignity. "Only his eyes," says this indignant onlooker, "bore witness to his mental anguish." Escorted by his captors, he walked with a firm step across the frozen Angara River. On the opposite bank he was met by a motor car and driven to the town prison, while the few faithful adherents, who had been disarmed with him, followed on foot to the same dismal jail.

In the prison he received such poor privileges as a cell to himself and a bed. But each day he was subjected to the tortures of cross-examination concerning

his recent activities. This was done by the Social Revolutionaries with a view to collecting evidence for a trial, and in order to give a semblance of legality to the proceedings.

#### UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKI

When the Bolsheviks took over the power in the town they were troubled by no such scruples. Judicial impartiality was not even affected. If they questioned him no more, it was because they considered it useless to waste time cross-examining a man whose fate was already decided. Alone in his cell, denied the companionship of his faithful friends, refusing food as a protest against the rejection of his request for fresh underwear and a bath, Kolchak spent his last days a prey to gloomy thoughts.

Meanwhile the manner of his arrest was exciting comment in the outer world, and Paris instructed Janin, the Czech commander, to obtain his release. Janin was helpless. The Czechs did make feeble and irresolute attempts on Kolchak's behalf, but they were too indifferent and too slow. When they finally reached the point where they definitely asked for Kolchak's release as one of the twenty-four conditions on which they would evacuate Siberia, the Bolsheviks replied that it was useless to include any such demand. The Admiral was already dead.

#### THE SENTENCE OF DEATH

For once they spoke the truth. At 2 A. M. on Feb. 7 a man had entered Kolchak's cell and read to him the following "Order of the Irkutsk Military Revolutionary Committee," dated Feb. 6, 1920:

While the town was being searched, certain accumulations of arms, bombs, Maxim cartridge belts, &c., were found after they had been mysteriously moved from place to place. Portraits of Admiral Kolchak were also discovered.

Also General Voitzhevsky, in answer to the demand that he lay down his arms, mentions in his reply that the Admiral and his staff should be handed over to him.

These facts tend to show that a secret organization exists in the city, aiming at the liberation of one of the greatest criminals against the working classes—Admiral Kolchak—and his associates. Such

an insurrection is doomed to fail, but it nevertheless may lead to the death of innocent victims and provoke an unrestrained outburst of vengeance in the outraged masses, who will not allow the repetition of such attempts.

Feeling bound to forestall these useless sacrifices and not allow the city to be divided by civil warfare, the Irkutsk Military Revolutionary Committee, guided by the results of the inquiry and the decrees of the Council of People's Commissioners of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic, who put Kolchak and his associates beyond the pale of the law, has decided

#### TO SHOOT

the former Supreme Ruler, Admiral Kolchak, and the former President of the Council of Ministers, Pepelaiev.

It is better to execute two criminals, long worthy of death, than hundreds of innocent victims.

(Signed) SHIRIAMOV, President of the Irkutsk Military Revolutionary Committee. Members: A. SNOSKAREFF, M. LEVENSON. Chief of Chancery: OBERIN.

When he heard the sentence, Kolchak merely observed, "How is it that I was never brought before the tribunal which condemns me? This is nothing but murder."

#### THE EXECUTION

Three hours later he was taken out into the prison courtyard, blindfolded, for execution. The dawn had not yet fully come, and the dastardly job was done by the light of flaming torches. As he and his friend Pepelaiev were stood up against the wall, Kolchak nervously tore the bandage from his eyes, saying, "An Admiral of the Russian fleet does not need this to meet death face to face." Those were his last words before the order came to fire.

Judged even by the low standard of Bolshevik morality, the killing of Kolchak was a crime, and his enemies were at some pains to find excuses for it. That it was the work of the local organization we know from an intercepted telegram from Moscow announcing the abolition of the "Red Terror" death penalty against political opponents, including Kolchak and his associates.

It appears that the Admiral's hurried execution was the result of the panic caused among the Bolsheviks in Irkutsk

by the approach of Kappel's troops—a motive which is lamely concealed in the first part of the verdict. As a matter of fact Kappel's men, after fighting their way heroically through Siberia, never entered the city at all, but passed north over the ice of the Baikal.

A leading article in the official Bolshevik organ, *Izvestia*, predicted immediately after the murder that Kolchak would henceforth be considered a martyr. At the same time the editor attempted to counteract this point of view by saying that "humane measures are for the humane, but miscreants deserve death."

All parties admit that Kolchak had

great qualities and rendered great services to his country. Like greater men, he had his faults, and these, in the end, caused the failure of his plans. An unflinching and honest soldier and a good man, his name must be written on the roll of patriots whose motives were pure, though their methods may have been mistaken. But his enemies have, as they themselves feared, placed him on the list of martyrs—among those who suffered unjustly rather than betray others, even when themselves betrayed. Let time show that his faults, when weighed against his merits, will not deprive him of an honorable place in the estimation of posterity.

## Nationalization of Women in Russia

### New Documentary Evidence

THE question whether or not the Russian Soviet Government, as such, has recognized, or tolerated, the principle of the nationalization of women is still a subject of debate in certain quarters; the truth in the case, when established, must have a direct bearing upon the judgment of history regarding the Bolshevik régime. This charge was first published in the *New Europe* (Oct. 31, 1918, No. 017, p. 70), on the basis of a decree issued by the Bolsheviks of the South Russian City of Vladimir, and originally printed in the newspaper *Izvestia*. By this decree every girl who had reached the age of 18 years was compelled to register at the "Bureau of Free Love in the Commissariat of Surveillance." Having registered, she was directed to choose a cohabitant from men between the ages of 19 and 59, with or without the man's consent: a similar right was given to men to choose—also disregarding consent—from a number of girls of the required age. The opportunity for choice was given monthly. Children resulting from such unions were to become the property of the State. The decree stated that it had been based on the excellent "example" of similar decrees already issued at Luga, Kolpin

and other places. A similar "Project of Provisional Rights in Connection with the Socialization of Women in the City of Hvolinsk and Vicinity" had been published, it was stated, in the *Local Gazette of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies*. [The Vladimir decree was recorded in detail in *CURRENT HISTORY* for January, 1919, Page 78.]

In a subsequent issue of the *New Europe*, however (March 13, 1919), appeared a communication from Dr. Harold Williams, the war correspondent, in which the charge that the Soviet Government had ever sanctioned or recognized such nationalization was denied. Dr. Williams said, in part:

I cannot be accused of any prepossession in the Bolsheviks' favor, but just because I feel so acutely the enormity of their real crimes and the iniquity of their whole régime, I consider it wrong to weaken the case against them by imputing to them crimes which they have not committed. I have made particular inquiry among friends recently arrived in Russia as to the alleged nationalization of women, and they all assure me positively that they have never heard or read of such a decree. It is certain that the Central Bolshevik Government has issued no order of the kind, and if anarchists in Smolensk or schoolboys in some other provincial town have printed such abom-





PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION OF ONE OF THE PERMITS FOR THE FORCIBLE "SOCIALIZATION" OF YOUNG WOMEN, ISSUED BY LOCAL SOVIET OFFICIALS AT EKATERINODAR. THE NUMBER OF WOMEN SPECIFIED, HERE ILLEGIBLE, IS GIVEN AS TEN IN THE RUSSIAN REPORT

inable productions, the Central Government cannot be held responsible. The position of women and of everybody else under the Bolsheviks is far too tragical to be made the subject of such gross caricatures as these reports of the nationalization of women really are.

The New Europe gave prominence to this statement and denial, in which it admitted that while the Englishman who had supplied the information had acted in good faith, he had made an error in quoting the decree from the "official Soviet organ, *Izvestia*," when, in reality, it was published by a local paper of the same name. (*Izvestia*, in Russian, means simply, "The News.") The New Europe therefore added:

As this puts an entirely different complexion on the matter, and as the Central Moscow Government cannot be held responsible for the lucubrations of every local committee, we desire to withdraw unreservedly the imputation and to express our regret for the mistake.

That this treatment of Russian women is still being attempted by local councils has since been alleged by anti-Bolsheviks at various points, but usually without concrete evidence. One noted exception is a statement made by Captain

Jacques Sadoul, an officer formerly attached to the French Military Mission in Moscow, who went over to the Bolsheviks and became prominent in the Soviet régime. Sadoul is now under indictment for treason in his own country. In his book, "*Notes sur la Révolution bolchévique*," p. 313, Sadoul has an interesting reference to the decree issued by the City of Khvalinsk (unmistakably the Hvolinsk mentioned by the New Europe), which he states authoritatively was published by "the official Soviet newspaper." He spoke of this to Trotzky in person, and noted the latter's reply. Here is a translation of what he says on the subject in his book:

The official Soviet newspaper has just published a decree on the socialization of women in the City of Khvalinsk. [The text of the decree follows verbatim.] This decree is already in force in a few small towns subject to the authority of the anarchists. Trotzky assures me, however, with a smile, that such decrees have but small chance of being seriously considered by the Soviet Government.

Several months after the retraction of the New Europe, however, an official document was drawn up in the City of



Ekaterinodar, South Russia, embodying the report of a special Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Bolsheviks, which dealt specifically with the charge of nationalization, and gave visual and other evidence that this principle had been actually put into practice in Ekaterinodar, under official seal, by Soviet officials, including a Commissary of the Soviet Government and the Commander in Chief of the Red forces in this district. The date of the report was June 25, 1919. It was made to the Commander of the anti-Bolshevist forces in South Russia, to whose staff the commission was attached. This document has been received by CURRENT HISTORY in the original Russian, together with photographic facsimiles of the official order for "socialization" referred to in the report. The translation of this document is given herewith:

*Special Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Bolsheviks, attached to the Staff of the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces in the South of Russia.*

#### ACT OF INVESTIGATION

*concerning socialization of girls and women in the City of Ekaterinodar on permits issued by the Soviet authority.*

In the Spring of 1918 the Bolsheviks issued in the City of Ekaterinodar a decree, which was published in the Soviet News, and pasted on street posts, according to which young women from 16 to 25 years of age were subject to "socialization." Those who wished to avail themselves of this decree were to apply to the revolutionary institutions concerned therewith. The initiator of this "socialization" was the Commissary of the Interior, a Jew named Bronstein. He was also the one who issued "permits" for this "socialization." Identical permits were also issued by his subordinate, the commander of a Bolshevik cavalry detachment, Kobzyrev, by the Commander in Chief, Ivashchev, and also by other Soviet authorities. The permits were provided with the official seal of the staff of the "Revolutionary Troops of the North-Caucasian Soviet Republic." Per-

mits were issued both to Red Army soldiers and to Soviet chiefs, as, for instance, to Karaseiev, the commandant of the palace where Bronstein resided. This permit (given below) granted the right of "socialization" of ten young women:

#### PERMIT

*The bearer, Comrade Karaseiev, is entitled to socialize in the City of Ekaterinodar ten young women from 16 to 20 years of age, whomsoever Comrade Karaseiev may point out.*

(Signed) IVASHCHEV,  
(Official Seal) Commander in Chief.

On the strength of such permits Red Army soldiers seized more than sixty girls, young and pretty ones, chiefly from among the bourgeoisie and the pupils of local educational institutions. Some of them were seized during a raid made by the Red Army soldiers on the City Park, and four of the girls were raped on the spot, in one of the booths. Others, numbering about twenty-five, were taken to the palace of the Cossack Ataman, to Bronstein, and the rest to the Old Commercial Hotel, to Kobzyrev, and to Hotel Bristol, to the sailors, where they were raped. Several of the prisoners were later freed: so, for instance, a girl who had been raped by the Chief of the Bolshevik "Criminal Detective Force," Prokofiev. Others, however, were carried off by departing Red Army detachments, and their fate remains unknown. Finally several, after various cruel tortures, were killed and cast into the Kuban and Karasun Rivers. So, for instance, a pupil of the fifth class of one of the high schools of Ekaterinodar was subjected to violation for twelve days by a whole gang of Red Army soldiers: then the Bolshevik tied her to a tree, burned her with fire, and at last shot her dead.

The names of the victims are not published for obvious reasons.

The present facts have been obtained by the Special Commission under observance of the provisions of the Statute of Criminal Law procedure.

Drawn up on the 25th of June, 1919, in the City of Ekaterinodar.

(Official Seal.)

A photographic facsimile of the foregoing permit in the original Russian is reproduced herewith.

# Bolshevism in Its Present Aspects

## Disillusionment of British and German Radicals Upon Close Acquaintance With Soviet Methods

THE Summer of 1920 was marked by a significant change in the attitude of labor leaders and moderate Socialists in Europe and America regarding Russian Bolshevism. The two chief causes of this change were the report of the British Labor Mission, which had been sent to Russia to study the Soviet system at close range, and the set of answers penned by Lenin to a dozen pointed questions propounded by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. The disillusionment of those who visited Moscow and the bloodthirsty frankness of Lenin's answers to his semi-supporters in England cleared the field of neutrals and gave a new aspect to the situation. Some of the more important literature of this period is summarized in the present article.

A study by Mr. R. W. Postgate, "The Bolshevik Theory," recently published in London, reiterates the basis of the Soviet rule in the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat," which he admits means the dictatorship of a ruthless and militant minority, suppressive of all free speech and free choice, and ruling by terror and intimidation. Though Mr. Postgate happens to be a son-in-law of Mr. Lansbury, about whose head a storm of British condemnation has broken since his return from Moscow with a rose-colored message of the perfections of Soviet rule, this does not make the author a disciple of Lenin, inasmuch as he warns, in his preface, that Bolshevism is a spreading conflagration, and that knowledge alone will enable the Western nations to combat it.

Another, and a much more solidly documented, interpretation of Bolshevism is given in a volume compiled recently by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, for the use of the League Mission of Investigation, whose admission to Soviet Russia has so far been refused by the Moscow authorities

on the ground of the Polish military campaign and of France's support of Poland. This work gives an exhaustive survey of the social and industrial conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia. Impartiality, it is stated by the compilers, has been the effort of the investigators throughout, and all facts are given without bias on the basis of Bolshevik sources only. This work of compilation and interpretation gives a coherent and intelligible account of the social, economic, political and industrial legislation of the Bolshevik Government, and the salient points of the Bolshevik challenge to democracy.

One of the most illuminating sections of the volume—that dealing with compulsory labor—outlines in striking fashion the fundamental meaning of the phrase, "dictatorship of the proletariat." The nationalization of industries toward the beginning of 1919 confronted the Moscow Government with the necessity of operating some 3,000 factories, most of which had ceased to function; owing to the chaotic labor and food conditions. The question of compulsory labor, therefore, became a burning question toward the end of 1919. It was complicated by an acute transport and fuel crisis and by the impossibility of demobilizing the large army freed by the Kolchak débâcle—because of the external political situation.

To carry out its theories the State found itself compelled to take over dictatorial control of all labor power. This it did at first only in part—through the demobilized army divisions, which it employed chiefly in fuel cutting and railroad repairing—but later it extended the rule of labor compulsion throughout the country, in order to revive the nation's demoralized industries. Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat led to economic nationalization, this, in turn, to

industrial nationalization, and both, ultimately, to compulsory labor.

All attempts of labor associations, trade unions or others to revolt against this compulsory system were visited with severe punishment. Soviet apologists returning from Russia have been greatly embarrassed by the problem of reconciling the labor unions of the western nations to this principle, and several members of the British Labor Mission to Russia strongly condemned the despotism of the system on their return.

#### MR. RUSSELL'S TESTIMONY

With this British Labor Mission to Russia traveled Mr. Bertrand Russell, one of England's greatest mathematicians, well known for his pacifistic and philosophical writings. At odds with the British Government because of his campaign against conscription, he went to Russia as a Soviet sympathizer and returned disillusioned. His article, "Soviet Russia—1920," published by *The New York Nation* on July 31, was an unimpassioned statement of facts observed. The pronouncement of this leader of English radical thought and exponent of pacifism, who, in clear and fully conscious language, denounces the Bolshevik movement as too cruel and destructive to be of any value to the cause of world progress, created something akin to consternation among the radical "intellectuals" of the allied nations and America. Mr. Russell described his experiences in Russia in detail, the attempts of the Bolshevik authorities to make the visit of the British Labor Mission partake of the nature of a continuous State reception, the insistence of the mission, and especially of Mr. Russell himself on venturing forth alone and unembarrassed, so as to study Bolshevism at close quarters; the new light thrown on conditions by traveling through the rural districts, and by gaining a viewpoint wholly at variance with that imparted by the Soviet officialdom.

The people with whom Mr. Russell talked were many, including Maxim Gorky and Lenin himself. Trotzky he saw only in company. He found him as keen as a knife, and of a magnetic per-

sonality, whose main ingredient seemed to be a colossal vanity. Gorky he described as lying in bed in a dying condition, racked by fits of coughing, from the old malady of tuberculosis, against which his giant frame has struggled now for so many years, yet only thinking and pleading for Russia. With Lenin he had a long interview tête-à-tête. He found him simple and unostentatious, but with a laugh which held grimness, fitting with the grimness of the fanatic and utterly convinced theories which he expressed with the ruthlessness and intolerance of a disciple of Mohammed. On the whole, Mr. Russell formed, on reasoned premises, the same conclusion as that recently set forth by the Secretary of State, Mr. Colby, in the letter that embodied the official opinion of the United States regarding the nature of the Soviet Government and all its aims.

#### SYSTEM'S FATAL DEFECTS

The Soviet form of Government, says Mr. Russell, is a despotism, fanatic, almost religious in its nature. The Soviet Communist is austere: he is also ruthless. Mr. Russell says:

Marx has taught that communism is fatally predestined to come about; this fits in with the Oriental traits in the Russian character, and produces a state of mind not unlike that of the early successors of Mohammed. Opposition is crushed without mercy, and without shrinking from the methods of the Czarist police, many of whom are still employed at their old work. Since all evils are due to private property, it is believed that the evils of the Bolshevik régime, while it has to fight private property, will automatically cease as soon as it has succeeded. These views are the familiar consequences of fanatical belief. To an English mind they reinforce the conviction upon which English life has been based ever since 1688, that kindness and tolerance are worth all the creeds in the world. \* \* \*

As to the Communist theory of international affairs, on which all possibilities of intercourse between Russia and the rest of the world must be based, Mr. Russell states his final opinion in clear and luminous terms. It was only an accident, think the Bolsheviks, that the revolution foretold by Marx broke out in Russia, and not, as the Marxian



theory would seem to demand, in America. Once it has worked the initial cataclysm, however, the Communist program admits of neither doubt nor hesitation. This program, as explained by Lenin and all the other Bolshevik leaders, is uncompromisingly as follows:

In countries where the revolution has not yet broken out, the sole duty of a Communist is to hasten its advent. Agreements with capitalist States can only be makeshifts, and can never amount on either side to a sincere peace. No real good can come to any country without a bloody revolution: English labor men may fancy that a peaceful evolution is possible, but they will find their mistake.

Mr. Russell's verdict on the Bolshevik system is stated as follows:

For my part, after weighing this theory carefully, and after admitting the whole of its indictment of bourgeois capitalism, I find myself definitely and strongly opposed to it. The Third International is an organization which exists to promote the class war and to hasten the advent of revolution everywhere. My objection is not that capitalism is less bad than the Bolsheviks believe, but that socialism is less good, at any rate, in the form which can be brought about by war. The evils of war, especially of civil war, are certain and very great; the gains to be achieved by victory are problematical. In the course of a desperate struggle the heritage of civilization is likely to be lost, while hatred, suspicion and cruelty become normal in the relations of human beings. In order to succeed in war a concentration of power is necessary, and from concentration of power the very same evils flow as from the capitalist concentration of wealth. For these reasons chiefly I cannot support any movement which aims at world revolution. The injury to civilization done by revolution in one country may be repaired by the influence of another in which there has been no revolution; but in a universal cataclysm civilization might go under for a thousand years.

#### RAMSAY MACDONALD'S WARNING

The issuing of this solemn warning almost coincided with a similar warning contained in an article published by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, a prominent Labor leader in Great Britain. The occasion for Mr. MacDonald's statement was the receipt of the answers of the Third Moscow International to the questionnaire addressed to it some time ago by the Independent Labor Party of England.

The party had planned official publication of this document at a subsequent date. In some way, however, it fell into the hands of the Left Wing, and was published by them in Glasgow toward the end of July in pamphlet form.

The Bolshevik answers to the twelve questions propounded by the Independent Labor Party were imbued throughout by a spirit of the utmost intolerance toward all forms of socialism other than Communism, and declared categorically for a bitter struggle by violent revolution against all the capitalistic countries of Europe. Contempt for Parliamentary representation, except as a temporary means of proclaiming the Communist doctrine, were associated with bitter words against the leaders of the so-called Centre, the Ramsay MacDonalds, the Philip Snowdens, the Kautskys and Axelrods. The closing paragraphs painted a lurid picture of Communism, triumphant in Europe, uniting with the nations of the East in a worldwide war for the overthrow of Parliamentary government and of equal liberty in England and America. Revolution in England by "a heavy civil war" was preached and the immediate establishment of a Communist Labor Party in Great Britain demanded.

The premature publication of this document provoked a rejoinder from Mr. MacDonald, which was published in *Forward*, the organ of the Clyde revolutionaries. In this reply Mr. MacDonald said:

The Moscow leaders are men of definite opinions. They are the product of a hard, materialistic logic, and an outcast, hunted life. They are no fireside revolutionists, no sloshy, universal-love poseurs. When they say dictatorship, they mean dictatorship; when they say revolution, they mean bloodshed and violence; when they speak of universal laws, they mean that Great Britain is included in the universe. Bertrand Russell went to Russia with romantic views. I think that had he been at Glasgow at Easter he would have added his voice to those raised in protest against my interpretation of the position of the Third International; he is now writing to the *Nation* articles which do little more than illuminate the argument in my "Parliament and Revolution" by personal experiences gained by his visit to Moscow. The Independent Labor Party



and the Third International are oil and water, and will not mix.

Even the Independent Labor Party leaders are condemned by the Third International for not resisting and declaring for a revolution. A new party must be formed in England, a Communist Party, whose whole procedure must be based on the promise of revolution, to which all use of Parliamentary procedure must be subordinated. Thus, comments Mr. Macdonald, the issue is whether England is to agree that the seizure of power by a few men who are leaders of a political party is to be the Socialist method. They may dress up this bold issue in what robes they like, he declares, but it is upon that they must decide, now that Moscow has officially spoken.

With no attempt to dress up this issue in any garment but its own nakedness, there was formed in England only a short time later the Communist Party, for which Lenin had appealed.

#### A GERMAN VERDICT

Another Socialist who has found only disillusionment at Moscow is Herr Dittmann, who, with Herr Ledebour, has long been a leader of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. This party sent a delegation to the recent Communist congress in Moscow, and Dittmann, on his return to Berlin, expressed great disappointment regarding the Bolshevik Government, which he declared was no Government at all, and productive of no good to anybody. In his report on the subject, issued at the end of August, he told of his visit to the German labor colony, numbering 120, in Kolomna, near Moscow, whither they had recently emigrated. He said:

Almost without exception they desire to return to Germany immediately, but the Russian Government refused permission. Their disillusion is complete. In Germany Russian agents told them each would have his own little workshop in his own little house, but at Kolomna there are no little houses, and anybody who desires one has got to build his own hut himself.

There is a big factory which formerly employed 17,000, but now has only 5,000

hands. The buildings are in an extremely unhealthy and loathsome condition, and many immigrants are sick with dysentery or lung trouble. All are starving.

The bread looks like peat, and is indigestible. What is 11,000 or 12,000 rubles monthly wages if one pound of butter costs 3,500 rubles and all other victuals in proportion?

Dittmann's report is printed in book form, and has been circulated among the members of the Independent Socialist Party.

#### HOSTILITY OF INDEPENDENTS

The Independent Socialists of Germany, who had formerly shown some leanings toward Bolshevism, took an emphatic stand against it at their party conference in Berlin on Sept. 3. A majority of the party leaders expressed themselves as opposed to a union with the Moscow International. George Ledebour was warmly applauded when he charged Lenin and Trotzky with carrying on "dangerous anti-socialistic policies," which showed them to be unqualified to assume international leadership. Professor Karl Ballod, a member of the German Socialization Commission, who had just returned from several months' research work in Russia for the Latvian Government, made an address in which he said:

Whatever our sentiments toward the Russians may be, the fact remains that they have not given proof that they are able to establish socialism in their country. I was once of the opinion that Soviet Russia and Germany could support each other economically, but I have now abandoned that opinion. \* \* \* Industrial production in Soviet Russia has fallen to about one-sixth of its former volume. This is partly due to lack of raw material, as the peasants refuse to give up flax and other products in exchange for paper currency, and also because of their unalterable opposition to the underlying principles of the Soviet Government.

The distinct note of hostility and disillusionment struck by this radical faction of the German Socialists was in harmony with the change of attitude in similar circles in other countries.



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